

Proceedings and Transactions
of
The Sixth
All-India Oriental Conference
Patna
December, 1930

PATNA
PUBLISHED BY THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY
AND PRINTED BY P KNIGHT, BAPTIST MISSION PRESS,
CALCUTTA

—
1933

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**APPENDIX TO THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
VIth ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE**

INDIAN ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD IN THE COUNCIL ROOM
OF THE BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

Friday the 19th December 1930

(6 to 8 p m)

The following members of the Committee were present —
Rai Bahadur Hiralal, *President* in the Chair

Rao Bahadur Dr S Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M A , Ph D ,
M R A S , F R Hist S , F A S B , *General Secretary*

Dr S K Belvalkar, M A , Ph D , I E S , *General Secretary*

Professor A C Woolner, M A , C I E , F A S B , *Treasurer*

K P Jayaswal Esq , M A , (Oxon), Bar-at-Law

Dr Harichand, M A , D Phil , D Litt , I E S , *Local Secretary*

Dr Lakshman Sarup, M A , D Phil (Oxon)

Prof Muhaminad Shafi, M A

Dr R C Majumdar, M A , Ph D

Dr H Hirananda Sastri, M A , M O L , D Litt

Professor K A Subramania Aiyar, M A

Shams-ul-Ulama Dr Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt , C I E

Dr A Siddiqi, M A , Ph D

The following resolutions were adopted after discussion

I That the meeting of the Conference do place on record their gratitude to Mahamahopadyaya Dr Haraprasad Shastri, M A , C I E , Hony M R A S , the President of the 5th Conference for his services to the Oriental Conference during the term of his Presidentship (Proposed by the new President and carried unanimously)

work to completion with the same expedition. The Committee wished to record their grateful appreciation of the liberal financial support of the Government of Madras for this purpose, and hoped that they would with equal liberality enable the cataloguing to be completed at an early date.

VIII The Indian Oriental Conference welcomes the inauguration of the Oriental and Archaeological Society, Singaradja, Bali in the Dutch Indies, and while appreciating the work already done, wishes for it a very useful and prosperous future in the unfolding of the story of Hindu culture in the Islands of the East.

IX The Secretary read a letter No. Edn. 42/86D, dated the 22nd November 1930, from the Officiating Dewan of Baroda, inviting the Conference, on behalf of H. H. the Maharaja of Baroda, to hold its next session in Baroda and sanctioning funds therefor. The Committee resolved—

to accept the invitation with gratitude and recommend the appointment of Dr. B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D., Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda, as Local Secretary (Proposed by Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A., Bar-at-Law, J.P., seconded by Dr. A. Siddiqi, M.A., Ph.D., and carried unanimously).

X The question of transferring the headquarters of the Conference to Poona, in charge of the other General Secretary, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, was then discussed. No objection was taken to the proposed transfer.

XI As a result of direct election, the following ten new names were suggested for election as the Executive Committee by the Council along with those of the fourteen of the outgoing committee —

- (1) Dr. Prabhudatt Sastri, Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta
- (2) Pandit Dharmaraja Ojha
- (3) Pandit Jamnaprasad

INDIAN ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

As soon as the Committee meeting was over, a general meeting of the Council of the Conference was held, about fifty members being present. The first business proceeded with was the election of the Executive Committee for the next term. The result of the elections was the following — Two Secretaries and a Treasurer, were elected as in the previous term —

General Secretary — Rao Bahadur D^r S Krishnaswami Aiyanga,
M A, Ph D, M R A S, F R H S, F A S B

General Secretary — Dr S K Belvalkar, M A, Ph D, I E S
Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona

Treasurer — Prof A C Woolner, M A, C I E, F A S B, Lahore

(2) The Committee's recommendation that Dr B Bhattacharya be elected local Secretary for Baroda was approved

(3) For the other members of the Committee, the following were elected —

- 1 D^r Lakshman Sarup, M A, D Phil Professor of Sanskrit, Oriental College, Lahore
- 2 Dr R C Majumdar, M A, Ph D, Professor of History and Head of the History Department, Dacca University, Ramna, Dacca
- 3 D^r Hirananda Sastri, M A, M O L, D Litt Epigraphist to the Government of India, Fern Hill, Nilgiris
- 4 Professor K A Subramania Aiyar, Lucknow University, Lucknow
- 5 Shams-ul-Ulama D^r Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt, C I E, Bombay
- 6 Dr A Siddiqi, M A, Ph D, Professor, Dacca University, Dacca

Appendix to the Proceedings

*Audited Accounts of the Patna Reception Committee, the
6th All-India Oriental Conference up to the 18th Dec, 1933*

RECEIPT				EXPENDITURE			
	Rs	As	P		Rs	As	P
Grants & Donations	11,566	0	0	Establishment	466	1	
Membership fee	1,468	2	0	Stationery	114	14	
Interest received	401	1	6	Postage	245	14	
Miscellaneous received from Anglo Arabic College Lucknow	7	0	0	Printing	7,713	14	
Refund of advance	320	0	0	Excursion	395	8	
Cost of bicycle	16	0	0	Meeting	118	10	
Total	13,778	3	6	Entertainment	2,478	2	
				Drama	506	6	
				Miscellaneous	936	0	
				Refund to Anglo Arabic College Lucknow	7	0	
				Advance	320	0	
				Balance in hand	455	10	
				Expenses of a delegate	20	0	
				Total	13,778	3	

D N SEN,
Honorary Treasurer

Certified that the account is correct subject to the
objections noted

HARI SHANKER NATH,
Auditor

A Statement of account of the All-India Oriental Conference Volumes From 31st March 1929 to 10th December 1930

Appendix to the Proceedings

Receipts		Expenditure	
	Rs As P		Rs As P
1 Opening Balance on 1-1-1929	337 1 1	1 Expenditure for Postage Stationery Telegram and Bank commission upto 1-12-1930	15 1 0
2 Interest on Savings Bank Account	9 15 0	2 One-third of face value given as Deposit percentage to the Institute upto 31-3-10 is per details below —	71 10 8
3 Face value of the reports of the Conference Vols II, III & IV that were sold at the Institute upto 31-1-30	215 0 0	(a) Discount to purchasers Rs 11 1 6 (ii) Balance to the Institute Rs 60 6-2	
4 Face value of the reports of the Conference Vols II III & IV that were sold at the Institute upto 10-12-30	317 0 0	3 One-third of face value given as Deposit percentage to the Institute from 1-1-1930 to 10-12-1930 is per details below —	105 10 8
Total Receipts	879 0 1	(a) Discount to purchasers Rs 38 11 0 (ii) Balance to the Institute Rs 66-15 8	
<i>Details of Balance —</i>		4 Price of Conference reports sent to Mr K P Frawley for Printing Conference including postage	43 12 0
1 In Savings Bank Account	176 12 1	Total Expenditure	236 5 1
2 With the Joint Secretary of the Conference	165 14 8	Balance on 11-12-1930	642 11 0
Total	612 11 0	Total Receipts	879 0 1

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
Pooné No 4 (India)
11th December 1930

S K BHALVALKAR,
Secretary

The Sixth All-India Oriental Conference.

Patna, December, 1930.

Patron

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR HUGH LANSDOWN STEPHENSON,
KCSI, KCIE

Vice-Patrons

MAHARAJA BAHADUR SIR BIR MITRODAYA SINGH DEO, KCIE, OF
SONEPUR

MAHARAJADHIRAJA KAMESHWARA SINGH OF DARBHANGA

Reception Committee

Mr K P Jayaswal, *President*
Hon ble Sir Mohaminad Fakhruddin
„ Sir Ganesh Dutta Singh
„ Mr Justice T S Macpherson
„ Mr Justice J F W James
„ Mr Justice Khwaja Mohammad Nur
Mr P C Manuk
Mr G E Fawcus
Raja Bahadur Kirtyananda Singh of Banail
Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radha Krishna Jalan
Mr S Sinha
Mr H Lambert
Mr J S Armour
Mr Riaz Hasan Khan
Mr Sham Bahadur
Mr D N Sen, *Treasurer*
Dr Hari Chand, *Hony General Secretary*

Entertainment and Accommodation Committee

Mr K P Jayaswal
Hon ble Rai Bahadur R K Jalan
Dr Hari Chand
Mr S N Sahai
Mr Ali Manzar
Mr Sham Bahadur, *Secretary*

Last of Donors to the Reception Committee Fund

	Rs
The Bihar and Orissa Government	1,000
The Patna University	1,000
Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadevasram Prasad Shahi, Hatwa	1,000
The Manager, Ramgarh Wards Estate	1,000
The Manager, Bettia Raj	1,000

	Rs
Mr Madhava Prasad, Muzafferpur	5
Mr K A Nilakantha Shastri, Madras	5
Mr A G Swami, Sivani	5
Mr G Ramakanta Acharya	5
Raja of Tekkali, Ganjam	5
Mr N M Ghosh, Patna	5
Mr H S Ahmad, Patna	5
Mr S Wanner, Patna College, Patna	5
Dr H R Divekar, Poona	5
Mr G C Saha, Benares	5
Pandit Ramayana Pandey, Puri	5
Dr M D Sastri, Benares Cantt	5
Mr S A Jabbar, Patna	5
Mr S A Alam, Patna	5
Mr S Md Nasiruddin, Patna	5
Mr Sham Bahadur, Bar at Law	5
Mr S S Survanarayana, Madras	5
Mr V Ravaz Hasan, Dumaria	5
Dr C Narayan Rao, Madras Pres	5
Rao Bahadur R Krishna Rao Bhonsle Madras	5
Mr Arthur Probstham, Great Russell Street, Booksellers, London	.. 5 10
Mr A Knell, Kandy	5
Mr K Chattopadhyaya, Allahabad	5
Mr G K Trimmalkar, Bangalore City	5
Mr R N Somayajulu, Hyderabad	5
Mr Y K Deshpande, Berar	5
Pandit Chaudradatta Trivedi, Patna	5
Mr R N Raja Sarma Kumbakonam	5
Mr A Saddiqui, Allahabad	5
Mr D C Bhattacharya, Chittagong	5
Mr K P Mitra, Monghyr	5
Mr Nasiruddin Husain, Bankipur, Patna	5
Mr Pandit K L V Shastri, Palghat	5
Mr Sd Mohanmad, Patna	5
Mr Abdul Latif, Chittagong	5
Dr S A Hafiz, Patna	5
Principal A B Dhruva, Benares	5
Mr A Majid, Patna	5
Mr P D Shastri, Calcutta	5
Dr V G Paranjpe, Poona 2	5
Mr P L Vaidya, Poona 4	5
Mr V G Apte, Poona 2	5
Sardar K C Mahenjadale, Poona 2	5
Dr S K Belvalkar, Poona 4	5
Dr S V Sukhthankar, Poona 4	5
Mr Sheikh Abdul Kadir, Poona 7	5
Mr G H Rawlinson, Poona	5
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Mr Md Abu Saveed, Patna	5
Rai Brij Bihari Saran, Patna (now Muzafferpur)	5
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Mr Sri Narayan Sahai, Patna	5
Mr Anant Vishnu Khasnis	5
Dr Pran Nath, Benares	5
Dr Hari Chand Shastri, Patna	5
Dr Azimuddin Ahmad, Patna	5
Mr Kalkunkara Datta, Patna	5
Pandit Devadatta Tripathi, Patna	5
Pandit Dayanand Jha, Muzafferpur	5
Pandit Yamuna Prasad Tripathi, Muzafferpur	5
Pandit Devikanta Thakur, Muzafferpur	5
Dr H R Divekar, Poona	5

List of Members

v

Rs

Mr Ramakrishna Das, Shanti Kutir, Benares	5
Pandit Keshwar Prasad Mishra Bahadami, Benares	5
Babu Shamsundar Das, Benares City	5
Moulvi Md Ejaz Husam Khan, Darapur, Patna	5
Moulvi Md Hamid Kuraishi Archaeological Survey Patna	5
Mr Shah Masood Ahmad, M A, Kadamuan, Patna	5
Mr B K Gokhale Education Department, Patna	5
Prof R K Saran, Patna College	5
Mr Yusuf Hussain, c/o Mr Abdul Haq, Banajra Road, Hyderabad	5
Mr S N Datta, Barrister at Law, Patna	5
Dr Suniti Kumara Chatterji Calcutta University	5
Srimati Madhuri Devi c/o Mr C C Das, Patna	5
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Mr S N Basu, Esq, Barrister at Law, Patna	5
Mr Paresh Nath Roy, M A, B L Dacca	5
Mr Harit Krishna Deb, S A, Raja Nabo Kissen St, Calcutta	5
Dr L Alsdorf Lukerganj, Allahabad	5
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Babu Bhawani Sahay, Advocate, Patna	5
Hakim Abdul Karim Sahib, Govinda Mitra Road Patna	5
Mr Syd Jamal Hasan, Sikandar Manzil Patna	5
Pandit Dharmendra Brahmachari, M A, c/o Dr Hari Chand Sastri, Patna	5
Pandit Ishwaridatta Daurgadatti Sastri, M A, Superintendent, Sanskrit Studies, Patna	5
Prof Tarapada Bhattacharya, B N College, Patna	5
Prof B B Majumdar, B N College, Patna	5
Mr S V Puntambekar, M A, History Dept Benares Hindu University	5
Mr B K Bhatta, Esq, M A, House No 811 Ravivar Peth Poona	5
Mr Ajit Ghose, Patna Museum, Patna	5
Mr M B Garde, Superintendent, Archaeology, Gwahor	5
Mr P Acharya, Archaeological Scholar Mayurbhanj State, Orissa	5
Mr Binayak Mishra, Calcutta University, Calcutta	5
Prof Santosh Kumar Das Tri Chandra College, Nepal	5
Mr K P Sinha, c/o Mr K P Jayaswal, Patna	5
Mr N Chatterji, c/o Mr K P Jayaswal, Patna	5
Dr I J S Taraporewala, M F Kama Atharvan Institute, Anderi, Bombay	5
Pandit Teknaram Tarkavagish, Pandariba Patna City	5
Pandit Lakshmi Kanata Jha, Advocate, Patna	5
Md Ibrahim Saheb, Terhi Ghat Patna City	5
Pandit Ramnaram Shastri, H E School, Hajipur, Muzafferpur	5
Mr Ataur Rahman, c/o Prof A Mannan, Patna College	5
Mr Abu Abdulla Hasan, c/o Mr Reaz Hasan Khan, Patna	5
Miss S B Das Sinha Institute Road, Patna	5
Mr Bhagwat Ram, Rambagh, Patna City	5
Mr Fazilat Husam, Patna College Patna	5
Mr J C Sen c/o Principal D N Sen, Patna	5
Dr P C Bagchi, Calcutta University, Calcutta	5
Prof H R Kapadia, New Chaul, Bhagwat Wadi, Bombay 2	5
Mr K K Roy, Gardanibagh, Patna	5
Pandit Udit Narain Tripathi, Daraganj H E School, Allahabad	5
Khan Sahib Sid Mahboob Hasan, Peerbahore, Patna	5
Dr H C Roy Chaudhury, M A, Ph D	5
Dr Narain Chandra Banerji, M A	5
Mr A C Chatterji, M A, Calcutta University	5
Mr Brymohan Vyas Ex Officer, Municipality, Allahabad	5
Rai Sahib Pravag Dayal, Provincial Museum Lucknow	5
Mr Durga Prasad, B A, Laksa Road, Benares	5
Mr Vrajnath Sarkar, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi	5
Mr Syd Sulaiman Nalvi, Shibli Academy, Azamgarh	5
Mr Q A Waddood, Barrister at Law, Patna	5

	Rs
Mr Balakrishna Dass, c/o Messrs Bhanamall Gulzari Mall, Patna	5
Mr N Chatterji, c/o Mr K P Jayaswal, Patna	5
Mr Brijnaranayan Executive Engineer, Patna	5
Prof Warasat Husan, Patna College, Patna	5
Mr Md Abdullah Chughtai, Prof, Islamia College, Lahore	5
Principal H Lambert, Patna College, Patna	5
Mr Annada K Prasad, Student, B N College, Patna	2
Mr S M Nurul Huda " " "	2
Mr Mohiuddin, IV year " " "	2
Mr S A Hasan " " "	2
Mr Ratan Chand, VI year, Patna College "	2
Mr Ramanand Singh, III year " "	2
Mr Syd Shahabuddin Ahmad c/o Md Reza Hasan Khan, Kadamkuan, Patna	2
Mr Mumtaz Hasan Khan c/o Md Reza Hasan Khan, Kadamkuan, Patna	2
Mr Ahmad Hasan Khan " " " " " "	2
Mr Md Yakub, Student, Tibbia School	2
Mr S M Hoda, Student, IV year, B N College, Patna	2
Mr Sri Niwas Ram, Student II year, B N College, Patna	2
Mr Ram Shankar Mishra, Student, II year, B N College, Patna	2
Mr Syed Naimul Huq, Student, Patna College, Patna	2

Preface.

The Organisation of the Conference

1 When the Fifth Oriental Conference was sitting at Lahore in the month of November, 1928, Mr K P Jayaswal, Editor, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, on behalf of the Society, by a communication, invited the assembled orientalists to hold their sixth session in Patna. The invitation was placed before a general meeting of the Conference and was unanimously accepted.

2 The Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, at a meeting held on the 6th September, 1929, considered arrangements to be made in connection with the Oriental Conference to be held in Patna and resolved that the preparations for the holding of the Conference in Patna be set on foot at once and a copy of the resolution was sent to Dr S K Aiyangar, Madras, General Secretary of the Conference.

3 A letter, dated the 19th September, 1929, received from Dr S K Aiyangar, was read before a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held on the 24th November, 1929, and a Committee consisting of the following staff was formed —

<i>Hon Secretary</i>	Dr Hari Chand Shastri, Professor, Patna College, Patna
<i>Hon Treasurer</i>	Mr D N Sen, Principal, B N College, Patna
<i>Members</i>	Sir Saiyid Sultan Ahmad, Kt, Barrister-at-Law Vice Chancellor, Patna University
	Mr G E Fawcus, M A, O B E, C I E Director of Public Instruction Bihar and Orissa, Patna
	Mr E A Horne, M A, Pro-Vice Chancellor, Aligarh University
	The Hon'ble Mr Justice J F W James, M A, Vice-President, B and O Research Society, Patna
	Mr K P Jayaswal M A, Editor, Journal, B and O Research Society, Patna
	Mr J S Armour, M A Honorary Secretary, B and O Research Society, Patna

	Rs
The Hon'ble Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo of Kanika	50
P C Manuk, Esq., Barrister at Law, Patna	50
Syd Abdul Aziz, Esq., Barrister at Law, Patna	25
Mahant Darsan Das of Muzafferpur	21
V P Vaidya, Esq., Bombay	20

5 The General Executive Committee of the Conference intimated that Rai Bahadur Hira Lal was selected President of the Sixth Oriental Conference by the said Executive Committee

6 Entertainment and Accommodation Committee consisted of the following gentlemen —

<i>Secretary</i>	Mr Sham Bahadur
<i>Members</i>	Mr K P Jayaswal
	The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur R K Jalan
	Dr Hari Chand
	Mr Ali Manzar
	Mr S N Sahai

The Committee received much help and guidance from the Hon'ble Sir Ganesh Datta Singh

The Secretary and the members tried then best to accommodate and look after the comforts of the Delegates and their friends. The Secretary, Mr Ali Manzar, and Mr S N Sahai, Mr Rama Bahadur, and 25 volunteers from the local colleges spared no pains to look after the comforts of the guests. Guests of orthodox style were accommodated in R Block and MLC quarters. The well-known confectioners Ram Bhandar of Benares were engaged to serve them. Guests living in European style were served by Cafe Doseteros. Patna Transport Company was employed to supply Motor Cars and Buses.

7 The President of the Reception Committee received great help and constant co-operation from Mr G E Fawcus in every detail. The Government of Bihar and Orissa generously provided accommodation for the Delegates by lending the use of MLC quarters. The Government House, the Hon'ble Mr J T Whitty, the Hon'ble Sir Courtney Terrell, the Hon'ble Mr Justice T S Macpherson (Vice Chancellor), the Hon'ble Mr Justice Ross, the Hon'ble Sir Ganesh Datta Singh, Mr G E Fawcus, and other members of the Reception Committee kindly put up distinguished guests with them.

Programme

Wednesday, 17th December, 1930 —

11 A M	Inaugural Meeting in the Wheeler Senate House
1 to 2 P M	Lunch
3 45 P M	Garden Party at the Government House
	Moshaerah in the Wheeler Senate House
6 P M	Linguistic Society Meeting in the Patna College

Thursday, 18th December, 1930—

7 30 A M	Pandita Sabhā
10 A M to 1 P M	Sectional business and the reading of Presidential addresses and papers in the Patna College
10 A M	History and Archæology, Arabic and Persian
11 A M	Classical Sanskrit, Fine Arts
12 A M	Philosophy
1 to 2 P M	Lunch
2 to 3 P M	Visit to the Oriental Public Library
3 45 P M	Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan's Garden Party at his residence (Qula House) in Patna City (by special invitation)
8 P M	Sanskrit Drama ' <i>Mudrārāksasam</i> '

Friday, 19th December, 1930—

7-30 A.M	Visit to the Kumhrar excavations
10 A M to 1 P M	Sectional business and the reading of Presidential addresses and papers in the Patna College
10 A M	Vedic, Urdu
11 A M	Philology, Anthropology, Mythology, and Religion
12 A M	Hindi, Bengali, Urdia
1 P M	Lunch
2 to 3 30 P M	Visit to the Patna Museum and the Research Society
3 45 P M	Mr K P Jayaswal at home to the members in the Museum grounds
6 to 8 P M	General Meeting of the Conference

Saturday, 20th December, 1930—

7 A M	Trip to Rajgir (hot springs) and Nalanda
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Mr B L Dhama at home to the members of the Conference in the Inspection Bungalow at Nalanda at 3 30 P M

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---|
| 10 | Dr Ishwar Dutta | The place of Science in Sanskrit Literature |
| 11 | Pt Dayananda Jha | Some Researches in Hindu Astronomy |
| 12 | Prof Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya | The Dhvanyāloka and the text of the
Dhvanyālikāś |
| 13 | Do | The Vr̥ndāvana Kāvya and its Author |
| 14 | Dr Haradatta Sharma | Kuntaka's Conception of the Gunas |
| 15 | Pt S S Suryanarayana Shastri | Haradatta Miśra and Haradatta
Sivācārya |
| 16 | Prof S P Caturvedi | Bhṛṅgadūta, a new Khandakāvya |
| 17 | Dr Amareshwar Thakur | Laws of Ownership with special reference
to treasure trove as under the Smṛtis |
| 18 | Prof Chintaharana Chakravarti | Characteristic features of the Sattaka
form of drama |
| 19 | Vidyabhusan Dmanath Shastri | Suparnaciti method of measurement of
time |

SECTION III

(INDIAN PHILOSOPHY)

President —DR S K BELVALKAR

Secretary —PROF S N BHATTACHARYA

The sectional business at 10 A M on the 18th and the 19th December, 1930
The Presidential address at 12 A M on the 18th

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Rai Bahadur Sardar M V Kibe | Is Bhagavadgītā post Buddhist ? |
| 2 | Pt Ram Swarup Shastri | Prācīna Nyāya and Navya Nyāya (in
Sanskrit) |
| 3 | Pt Devikanta Sidhanta Shastri | Tantratattviam |
| 4 | Prof D Srinivasachar | A Critical Review of Sattarka Dīpāvaḥ—
Prācīna Tīkā recently unearthed |
| 5 | Prof Umesh Chandra Bhatta
charya | The Concept of Svadharma in the Gītā |
| 6 | Prof Dakshinaramanjan Sastri | The Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas |
| 7 | Prof Umesh Misra | Gaudapāda Bhāṣya and Mādhara Vṛtti |
| 8 | Prof Asutosh Shastri | Vedantic Intuition and Mysticism |
| 9 | Prof Hirendralal Sengupta | Exponents of the Mādhyamika Philo
sophy |
| 10 | Pt N Ayyasvami Shastri | The Madhyamārtha Samgraha of Bhāva-
Viveka (Restoration from the Tibetan
Version) |
| 11 | Mr R Nagaraj Sharma | New light on Śrī Jayendraśīrtha's works
Renaissance of Realism in Indian Philo
sophy |
| 12 | Mr Ramakantacharya | Was Śrī Saṃkhya a Vaiṣṇavite ? |
| 13 | Mr Dharmendra Brahmachari | A Note on the Adhyāsa of Sankara |
| 14 | Dr D M Datta | Theory of Pakṣatā |
| 15 | R Chanda | The Doctrine of Transmigration of Soul,
Indian and Greek |
| 16 | Mr Krishnamoorthi Sharma | The Māndukya Kārikās of Gaudapāda |
| 17 | Mr H R Rangaswami Aiyangar | Madhva—a an old Sāṃkhya teacher |
| 18 | Prof T R Chintamani | Prakāsa, Śrīkara, and Kṣīrasāgaramiśra—
three old Mīmāṃsakas |
| 19 | Mr K Gopal Krishnamma | |

14	Rai Sahib Monaranjan Ghosh	Terracotta figurines in the Patna Museum and their relation to Ethnological races of India
15	R Subba Rao	The Yenadis
16	Prof P C Mahalanobis	A Revision of Risley's Anthropometrical Data relating to Indian Castes and Tribes, Part I, Bengal
17	Prof Kalipada Mitra	Ceremony of Rikhan
18	Do	The Magic of Names
19	Prof D N Majumdar	The Darlung Kukis of the Lushai Hills
20	Do	Sorcery and Divination in primitive Society
21	Do	The Economic Life of the Hos
22	Major M L Bhargava	Are the Gotras and Pravaras of Kshatriyas the same as those of Brāhmanas?
23	Pt R M Shastri	The Kayasthas
24	Mr D N Majumdar	The Class and Fusion of Culture in Pergannah Dushi, District Murzapur
25	Do	The position of women in Ho Society
26	Pandit Yamuna Prasad Tripathi	Dharma and its importance

SECTION VI

(HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY)

President —DR HIRANAND SHASTRI

Secretary —PROF Y J TARAPOREWALA

The sectional business at 10 A M on the 18th and 19th December, 1930

The Presidential address at 10 A M on the 18th

1	Dr Radha Kumud Mukerjee	Asokan Chronology
2	Dr R C Mazumdar	Arab Invasions of India
3	Prof A S Altekar	The Home and Nationality of the Rāstrakūtas of Malkhed
4	Dr H M Krishna	Excavations in Mysore—Some interesting finds
5	Prof P K Acharya	Materials for Sculpture in the Ābhāsa
6	Prof A F M Abdul Qadir	Early Muslim Visitors of Europe from India
7	Prof R Subba Rao	Gangā Era and the fixing of the Initial Era
8	Prof K Rama Pisharoti	The Kulasekharas of Kerala
9	Mr K P Jayaswal	New light on Nahapana
10	Mr H K Deva	Affinities of the Kushana
11	Mr C D Chatterji	Some Numismatic data in Pali literature
12	Prof Nilkantha Shastri	Malakūta of Yuan Chwang
13	Mr U N Ghosal	New light on the Gupta Administration
14	Mr Y K Deshpande	The Yadavas of Devagiri
15	Prof D C Bhattacharya	The Lost Kingdom of Harikela
16	Prof V V Mirashi	Further light on Rama Gupta
17	Mr Sved Mohammed	An inscription of Allauddin Hussain Shah King of Bengal, at Nawadah near Barh in Patna District
18	Prof S V Venkateswar Aiyar	Expansion of the Sātavāhanas
19	Dr A P Banerji Sastri	Viśāmitra in Bihar
20	Mr M R Mazumdar	Pre British Education in Guzrat

3	Pt N Changalvarayan	Music and Musical Instruments of the Ancient Tamils
4	Mr Muhammad Abdulla Chughtai	Hindu Miniature Painters of the 18th and 19th Centuries
5	Mr M Mahruiz ul Haq	A New and Authentic Signature of Bihzad
6	Do	Some original materials for the study of Persian painting and calligraphy in the 16th Century A D
7	Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh	Archæological evidence in support of the origin and development of Indian Painting and Musical Instruments from ancient times
8	Prof Kshitish Chandra Sarkar	A new Specimen of Sūrya from Varendra

SECTION VIII

(ARABIC AND PERSIAN)

President —MOULVI HIDAYAT HUSSAIN

Secretary —MOULVI A MAJID

The sectional business at 10 A M on the 18th and 19th December, 1930

The Presidential address at 11 A M on the 18th

1	Sayid Sulaiman Nadvi	Omar Khayam
2	Mr Abdul Azim Maiman	The two Traditional Mistakes
3	A Subhan	The History of Arabic Poetry from the 1st Century B C to the 6th Century A D Its gradual Development
4	Dr Julius Germanees	The Darvishes of the Janussaries
5	Do	Arabic and Latin Script in Turkey
6	Sayid Sulaiman Nadvi	Arab and America
7	Mr S M Badruddin Alavi	Arabic, the mother of Semitic Tongues
8	Mr Abud Ahmad Ali	Characteristic features of the Poetry of Nabigha Dhubyan
9	Mr Wahid Mirza	Urwa, the Beggar minstrel of Arabia
10	Mr R N Saha	The Affinity of Persian, Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali with Arabic
11	Mr S A Maqbul Ahmad	Hazrat Shahr Banu
12	Prof A Latif	Unique Beauty of the Arabic Language
13	Prof M Mozafferuddin	Rationalism in Islam
14	Dr M Nizamuddin	Early Persian Poetry
15	Principal A H Harley	A Biographical Sketch of Chalabi Begh Farigh
16	Mr S M Eushaw	Hafiz of Shiraz according to his own view
17	Prof M Mahfuzul Haque	A note on the Autograph Copies of Saib s Diwan
18	Prof M Ibnuddin Salik	Nal Daman
19	Prof Andahb Shadani	A Forgotten Persian Poet and His Works
20	Mr M Z Siddiqui	Al Beruni and His Works
21	Mr A Haq	Abu Tamam s Poetry
22	Dr S M Hussain	An unknown ancient Arabic Ode, an Nazzar b Hashim al Asadi

SECTION XII

(BENGALI)

President —RAI SAHIB NAGENDRA NATH BASU

Secretary —MR R HALDAR

The sectional business at 10 A M on the 18th and 19th December, 1930

The Presidential address at 12 A M on the 19th

1 Mr G C Saha

The Origin of Onomatopoetic words in
Bengal

2 Prof Gopal Haldar

Legend of Raja Gopichand

Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth Oriental Conference.

Wednesday, 17th December, 1930

INAUGURAL MEETINGS

10.45 A.M. Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, President of the Oriental Conference, was received at the entrance of the Senate House by the President and Members of the Reception Committee

11 A.M. His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Patron of the Conference, arrived and was received by Mr K. P. Jayaswal, President of the Reception Committee, who presented Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, the Members of the Reception Committee, and the Executive Council of the Conference to His Excellency

Lady Stephenson was conducted to her seat while the presentation took place

A procession was then formed and entered the Hall in the following order —

Dr Hari Chand

Mr Sham Bahadur	Mr Reaz Hasan Khan
Mr J. S. Armou	Mr D. N. Sen
The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur	Mr H. Lambert
R. K. Jalan	
Mr S. Sinha	Raja Kritvananda Singh
	Bahadur
Mr P. C. Manuk	Mr G. E. Fawcett
The Hon'ble the Vice	The Hon'ble Mr Justice James
Chancellor	
The Hon'ble Sir M. Fakhruddin	The Hon'ble Sir G. Dutta Singh
Mr K. P. Jayaswal	Rai Bahadur Hira Lal

The Staff of H.E. the Governor

His Excellency the Patron

Sir Jivanji Modi	Dr A. C. Woolner
Dr S. K. Belvalkar	Dr R. C. Mazumdar
Dr A. Siddiqui	Professor Md. Shafi
Dr S. K. De	Dr Lakshman Sarup
Prof S. V. Venkateswara	Mr K. S. Aiyar

Dr S. K. Krishna Swami Aiyangar

wisdom We can trace in the brick work and the foundations the history of that ebb and flow of the culture of which this place was the centre The various stages of desertion or destruction followed by rebuilding up to the final destruction are plainly revealed, and, perhaps as important as anything, we can link Nalanda on to other parts of Indian History already reconstructed You will see all this for yourselves together with the statues and other fruits of digging housed in the Museum, which will be the envy of less-favoured places

The other results of excavations which I referred are the discoveries at Patahputra and in the Patna College grounds Here close to the site of the glories of Magadha, evidence of a prehistoric civilisation has been found and the terra cottas unearthed suggest the fascinating theory that this civilisation was linked to the Sindh civilisation and I understand that the date of the Sindh civilisation in its turn may entirely upset the accepted chronology of the Vedic and Avestic civilisations

In the early years of antiquarian research in India the work was mainly undertaken by European scholars though more than 60 years ago Dr Bhanu Datta won a reputation for himself in this field But in the last 20 years or so there has been a most hopeful widening of interest and Indians have themselves taken up, I will not say the burden, but the honour of research into Indology This Conference is a notable proof of that and here in Patna, we are proud of our fellows, who have won a wide recognition in these studies There are not yet in India the facilities for research which the student finds ready to his hand in Europe but this will come and the Universities led by Calcutta are striving their best to advance such research The wider public too have their duties and responsibilities to which they are perhaps only slowly awakening it is their heritage that is being investigated and they cannot stand by indifferent The Maharajahadhiraja of Darbhanga has recently endowed a Marathi Chair at Patna I would like to appeal to others to go and do likewise enlightened patronage of the Universities in this shape is one of the surest means of advancing research and personal interest and assistance in the learned societies who have taken up the labour of love is another way of helping The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has fully justified itself and I gratefully acknowledge the help it has received from Maharajas, Rajas and other gentlemen not only in the Province, but also in the Orissa States, where the material for historical research is also great Everyone I have approached for assistance in holding this Conference has responded to my appeal

I will not detain you longer from the intellectual feast which is before you under the Presidency of Rai Bahadur Hira Lal It would be presumptuous in me before such a gathering of scholars to dilate upon the services to philology, epigraphy, ethnology and every other branch of Indology that Rai Bahadur Hira Lal has rendered I will only say that by general agreement you could have had no fitter President

of 70 years which has been carried on purely in search for the truth of the past and which has accomplished a result unparalleled in any other country or age—an unparalleled restoration of a lost history. Let us hope that the future administration will be a worthy successor in this respect worthy of a similar review at an Oriental Conference of the future.

May I, Ladies and Gentlemen take the liberty of pointing out some weak spots in our studies which deserve your notice. Numismatics Vedic, Hindu Sciences and Persian are the subjects which call for new vigour. Fortunately the Numismatic Society of India is holding its annual sitting this year along with ours. Mr Hodivala, Mr Stapleton, Lt Martin and Mr Prayag Dayal are keeping the torch burning. Of late, some veteran numismatists, for instance Sir Richard Burn and Mr Nevill have left this country. Our greatest authority Mr R. D. Banerji who was familiar with Indian coins of every age has passed away. We should not forget that some chapters of Indian History are exclusively contributed by coins. It is our duty not to let this branch of study become feeble. Nor have we any right to fall behind in respect of the Vedas in the land where they were first sung where from birth up to cremation they still sanctify our life. In the West Professors Whitney and Macdonell have carried on the work of Pāṇini in Vedic philology in India we have not yet equipped ourselves to step in and take over the Pāṇini-Macdonell line. Persian calls for a serious band of workers there we have not done anything of note lately. Similarly Avestic studies should find worthy followers of Sir Jivanji Modi. Our progress in scientific study of history epigraphy classical philology literature medicine Hindu Politics and in philosophy—at present so ably led by Professor Radhakrishnan—is gratifying. Hindu Sciences call for exponents as a branch of theirs—the theory of sound—has got one in Sir C. V. Raman. Again the spade has added a new material, a new problem. We have an unexecuted task in the tablets and seals of Mohen-jo-Daro. When they are read, then we shall know to quote the words of an eminent English Orientalist writing to me what Indian History is. Their solution is a trust left to us by the discoverer of Mohen-jo-Daro Mr R. D. Banerji.

While here, Ladies and Gentlemen you will certainly like to see the oldest and the most sacred place in Eastern India namely Gaya which was a famous place before the time of the Buddha and which was known before the Vedic scholar Yaska of the Seventh Century B.C. to have been identified as bearing the foot-print of Vishnu. The monument known to Yaska has come down to our time now canopied over by a beautiful temple built by Rani Ahalya Bai. As Vishnu-pada is sacred to the orthodox Hindus Mahabodhi now called Bodhi-Gaya where the Buddha evolved his philosophy of right knowledge and right conduct is a place which is sacred to the whole of the Buddhist world one third of the human race. Mahabodhi

I am certain, the Patna Museum and the home of the Research Society will please your artistic taste. When you have seen it you will pronounce it to be the most beautiful museum building in British India and will congratulate His Excellency on having erected such a successful piece of architecture, which would have done credit to Modern Delhi. Fittingly presiding over the entrance hall, you will meet there the likeness of Sir Edward Gait, the scholar, in permanent marble—Sir Edward Gait, the founder of the Research Society, Patna University, the Patna Museum, the Bihar and Orissa Sanskrit Association, and of almost every institution of research or culture in Bihar and Orissa. Though in England, he still feels the same interest, as when he was here, in all those objects and causes which he planted and fostered or sowed for the future. To the Research Society he was more a fellow worker than a founder. It is impossible for the Research Society not to remember to day that gem of a scholar and that gem of an English gentleman, or for me not to remember him without some sentiment. Sir George Grierson, the greatest linguist, Sir Edward Gait, the greatest Indian Ethnologist, Dr Ganganath Jha, Vice Chancellor of the Allahabad University, and Mr Oldham whom every one of you now knows as one of the learned Editors of the *Indian Antiquary*, though at present outside Bihar, are our Bihar scholars, and we point them out to you as we point out our other learned possessions.

The Patna Museum possesses one of the richest collections of Indian coins, numbering about 11,000, and I invite you to pay a visit, the day after to morrow, to that Institution and examine our possessions, along with the members of the Numismatic Society. Our punch-marked series alone numbers about 3,000, the majority of which belong to one single hoard found in the Province, at Purneah. The Museum also possesses the best known sculpture of the Maurya times—the Didarganj life size, female image—which has been pronounced to be the finest piece of Hindu plastic art of the pre Christian centuries. It was discovered in Patna City on the Ganges by a Muhammadan student of Patna College, and in my opinion is one of the figures which decorated the Nanda Palace called Suganga. The description of a royal palace in the Uggama Jataka gives us the information that the corridors of a palace contained realistic female figures. You will see for yourselves how realistic the Didarganj image is. The Didarganj site, next to the Fort, would mark the position of the famous Ganges Palace of the Nandas and the Mauryas.

Before Patna became a capital once more, Khan Bahadur Khudabaksh, father of Mr Khudabaksh, the Calcutta scholar and one of our Sectional Presidents, marked Patna as the site for his Oriental Library, the Bodleian of India. A Muhammadan scholar who was on his Haj pilgrimage reaching a library forgot, to quote his words, his 'Islam and pilgrimage'. When you visit that priceless library in this town you also may forget

Germany, Societe de Linguistique of Paris, and other bodies, by sending out their delegates to us. We also thank the Government of Angora, the Government of Morocco, Universities of Munich, Liege, Warsaw, Leiden, Zurich, Gottingen, Egypt, Jena, and Ohio who have sent greetings and good wishes to us.

I am afraid, Ladies and Gentlemen, I have taken too much of your time, and now I will not stand any more between you and your President. I welcome you once more most cordially on behalf of the Reception Committee and the Research Society of Bihar and Orissa and assure you of a similar welcome on behalf of Patna University, which the Hon'ble the Vice Chancellor authorises me to extend to you.

Rai Bahadur Hira Lal then delivered his Presidential Address as follows —

YOUR EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE,
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is still a mystery to me how and why I have been brought here from the centre of primeval forest to the cradle of civilisation, and asked to preside over a gathering of the pick of intellects of this great Indian Empire, including lands of gold and diamonds, as Burma and Ceylon were once designated. It reminds me of an episode about two thousand years old, when a man from the same jungles was brought to this glorious land, and was admitted into an institution replete with men of greatest enlightenment. I mean Nalanda, that great seat of learning, of which not only Magadha, but the whole of Buddhist India, nay the Buddhist world, was rightly proud. This nameless person was, however, capable of being trained. He used his opportunities to the best advantage and developed such a remarkable genius that he finally became the head of that institution. But Nāgārjuna, as he is known from his works, was only 7 when he entered this province. I am exactly nine times that figure and am obviously too old for a training now, to be of any use even in the future, what to say of the present. The only reason, that I can think of for this course of action, is perhaps to present a contrast between the development of the Magadha civilisation and the primordial condition in which the main population of the Central Provinces has even up to this day remained. May be, a necessity arose for placing something sufficiently dark between the continuous flow of brilliant light that has emanated from this chair during the past decade and the dazzling splendour of the future stream, bound to issue forth in the next decennial period. But for this, there were hundreds of distinguished scholars, who could have been asked to fill the place far more fittingly than a denizen of Vindhvachala. Whatever may have been the reasons which prompted you in making your choice, I have my own reasons to be grateful. I regard it as a great honour to the Central Provinces, known to the latter day history as the country of Gonds who managed

by delectable contributions in the form of charming novels, which were also translated in other vernaculars. Mr Banerji passed away at a comparatively young age, with a lot of contemplated work yet unexecuted which, if he had had time to finish, would have been of tremendous value.

I now turn to the most pleasant duty of offering hearty congratulations on behalf of the Indian Oriental Conference and myself to that great scholar, the fourth President of this Conference, Shamsul ulama Dr Jivanji Modi, who has been recently knighted. All will agree that he is a true successor to his adopted Guru, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. May Sir Jivanji enjoy for long the high honour which His Majesty the King-Emperor has been pleased to bestow on him, as a recognition of his high scholarship and his great literary services.

It has been customary in presidential addresses to review the progressive advancement of Oriental learning and to offer suggestions for further progress, but my five predecessors have done that work so exhaustively, that hardly anything remains worth mentioning now. The First President with his profound learning in Sanskrit and allied literature, accompanied with a life long experience of teaching-work, gave most valuable advice in regard to the study of Sanskrit, including Grammar, Nyaya, Vedas, Vedanta, and Artha Sastra. He also pointed out the spirit in which inscriptions should be interpreted and used and he emphasised two points, viz to avoid undue artificiality and to maintain judicial outlook, in discussing controversial matters.

The Second President, Professor Sylvain Levi, reminded his audience that great civilisations did not grow in the narrow frames of a local culture. It was necessary that with that infallibility, which only instinct can confer, the nation or rather the men of genius who made out a nation knew how to draw out of accidental features what was the permanent, out of local features what was general, out of particulars what was universal. He pointed out that this was the inspiration under which the Aryan genius made the greatness of India. But this has somehow disappeared, though attempts to revive it are being made.

Mahamahopādhyaya Dr Ganga Nath Jha laid special stress on Oriental research work within the country. A feeling had gained ground that research could only be done outside India, but happily this is being dissipated. Nevertheless, Europe has certain facilities for a study, which India does not possess. For instance, there are hardly any good libraries in this country, which may be said to smoothen the way for reference, as they do in Europe. The Imperial Library of Calcutta is perhaps the biggest in the country, but it contains only 2½ lakhs of volumes, while the British Museum Library owns more than 30 lakhs. Even if compared with other Asiatic Libraries our Imperial Library is much smaller than that of Tokyo, which has nearly 4 lakhs of volumes. An author working in the British Museum

the 'loot of manuscripts' which followed the Mutiny, whereby thousands of them left this country to adorn the shelves of foreign libraries, coupled with the destruction of those that remained in the houses of Panditas whose descendants were incapable of appreciating their value several large collections have been made in various centres of learning for instance at Poona, Madras, Calcutta, Benares, etc. The Poona collection now housed in the Bhandarkar Research Institute possesses 20,000 Sanskrit manuscripts including the collections made by Drs Buhler, Kielhorn, Bhandarkar and others. The Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library has about 23 000 Sanskrit manuscripts with about half that number in Telugu and Tamil. The Calcutta Asiatic Society, owns 20,000 manuscripts of which 14,000 are in Sanskrit and the rest in Arabic and Persian. A good collection also exists in the Sanskrit College Library at Benares. It will be noticed that in all these collections Sanskrit predominates, and that it is the Asiatic Society of Bengal alone that has stored about 6 000 Persian and Arabic volumes some of which were received from Tipu Sultan's Library at Serangapatam. Patna, however, owns a collection which once belonged to Kings and Emperors in and out of India. In fact it is considered to be one of the finest in the world. It also contains 6,000 manuscripts, but they include some of the rarest texts of which no second copies exist anywhere. Here there are records which were owned by generations of Emperors with their seals and autographs with superb paintings and illustrations of calligraphy, which render them simply invaluable. The *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriah* or History of the Timurid family to which the great Moghuls belonged, has a note stating that its cost was Rs 8,000. Indeed as many thousand pounds would not purchase it to day.' It is embellished with no less than 133 illuminated folio pages painted by the most notable painters of Akbar's time, including Khwaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz, whose skill of eye and hand was so marvellous that he is recorded to have written on a poppy seed a chapter of Koran—an art which seems to have been still preserved in Delhi. There are artists in the Museum Darulfalah, who even now write more than 150 letters on a grain of rice. In fact they recently sent me one bearing 125 legible English characters flawless in their formation, which can be seen in the Patna Museum, to which I have presented that wonderful rice. The wonders of the Khudabaksh Library can similarly be seen and realised by walking over a furlong from this place. The cataloguing of its manuscripts commenced in 1904, and 19 volumes have been published, yet about 10 volumes more must issue before the work is completed. The Khudabaksh Library, as it is called after its founder was a private library and is an example of what even a private individual can do if he wills it. Khair Bahadur Khudabaksh managed to collect manuscripts not only from India, but from Cairo, Damascus, Arabia, Egypt, and Persia, with a passion, which ignored even penal laws. He succeeded in making his

these stores, it must not be understood that I underrate the value of other collections or efforts made in that direction. In fact there are collections, which are even of greater importance than any I have referred to. The Sarasvatī Mahal of the Bhonsla Maharaja Sarfoji at Tanjore contains, in the words of Dr Buhler, 'a great many useful and a number of very rare and unique books, many of which are quite unknown or procurable only with great trouble and expense'. Dr Burnell who made out the first catalogue of the library recorded that the Tanjore Library was 'perhaps the largest and most important in the world'. A descriptive catalogue is now in course of preparation and the editor calculates that the total number of manuscripts now in this library is likely to exceed 30,000. In the Hyderabad State a most extraordinary collection of both Iranian and Sanskrit manuscripts is said to be owned by Dr Syed Muhammad Kasim in Patharghatī, but I have not been able to trace whether anybody has ever tried to catalogue them. However, there is an awakening all round in this matter and the Government, recognising that 'it is a debt of scholarship due to the world to publish catalogues *raisonnées* of such manuscripts', has endeavoured to render financial aid, but so much remains to be done that it is felt that the present efforts need quickening.

Sir Jivanji Modi in his presidential address gave us a very interesting history of the origin of research work in India. He told us how Anquetil and Jones not only drew attention to it, leading to critical studies of oriental literature in Europe, both in the Iranian and Sanskrit fields, but they themselves took a prominent part in it. The study of Vedic and classical Sanskrit literature, as also that of Avestan, Arabic, and Persian poured a flood of light on problems of life, which are most vital, not to speak of other aspects which are otherwise pleasing.

The discoveries of Asokan edicts stimulated a thorough study of Buddhist literature, the pride of Magadha, at whose capital we are to day throwing a glance on its past glories, glories and greatness, foretold by no less a prophet than Buddha. It was here, the old Pāṭaliputra, where a solemn Buddhist council was held and it was here that the latest book on the three Pīṭakas was composed. The Jainas in those days were similarly wide awake, and did not fail to hold their own council. Somehow or other, their literature did not catch the attention of scholars. This may be due to the reticence of the old Jainas, who did not like to show their *granthas* to others and were till recently very much opposed to print and publish them. Anyhow it is now well known, as it was to a few scholars formerly, that the Jaina literature is very voluminous and important from several points of view. Written as it is in Prakrit, the spoken language of the ordinary people in ancient days, it opens out a most extensive field for a philologist. It has come in contact with almost all the Indian languages. Even the Dravidian languages have been influenced by it. Curiously the contact was brought about by a twelve years' famine, which supervened in the reign of

era of Sanskrit writing, and those who followed him produced many original works in that language, which remain unsurpassed by even Brahmanical scholars, who looked on them with anything but a friendly eye. Despite their hatred of everything Jaina, the Brahmanical people used some of their works with avidity. We are living in an age when the antipathy has disappeared, offering a great opportunity to make use of that great store of knowledge in various branches of literature, to wit metaphysics, ethics, logic, history, and mythology, which Jaina scholars have left behind and which has been saved from vandalism by keeping it safe in Bhandaras in underground cells or encased in masonry work, which the incessant vigil of their custodians devised. Thousands of manuscripts have in this way been preserved, many in little known out-of-the-way places, for instance, who could have dreamt of the fine collection of Digambara works at Karañja, a small village in Berar, until a happy idea of sending a Jaina graduate to inspect the temples there suddenly flashed up. The Karañja Bhandaras brought to light more than a dozen works in Apabhramsa in which only one complete work Bhavisa-yatta Kahā had been published first in Germany in 1918 and later on in the Gaekwad Series in 1923. These works are of various sizes varying from Puranas of as many as 122 chapters to Charitas of 2 or 3 chapters. They are not as yet published. Their language shows unmistakable tendencies to wards vernacular in declensional and conjugational forms as also towards rhyme in vernacular verses. These records are likely to furnish a complete refutation of the theory that rhyme came in Indian poetry from Arabic and Persian sources. In the words of Dr. Barnett, some day when the whole of these scriptures will have been critically edited and their contents lexically tabulated together with their ancient glosses, they will throw light on many dark places of ancient and modern Indian languages and literature. The Jaina community is a rich community in India. They have the means and capacity to bring their valuable works to light very expeditiously. In my view, they have not taken sufficiently vigorous action in this matter. Sporadic efforts have been certainly made by societies like the Jaina Mahāmandala and Sāmantabhadra Āsrama of Delhi, the All-India Digambara Parisad of Bijnor, the Bhavanagai Society and some enthusiastic individuals here and there, but a great deal more than this is required.

In this connection the example of Bengal for the resuscitation and advancement of the Bengali language and literature is worthy of imitation. Comparatively speaking they have made a great advance, not only in the departments of belles-lettres, in which epoch-making contributions by poets and novelists like Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Babu Dwijendra Lal Roy, Kazi Nazrul Islam, Babu Sarat Chandra Chatterji, and others stand out prominently, but also in history, philology, and philosophy some excellent books have been prepared, which have raised the Bengali literature. This has given an impetus to other verna-

Close to the Tamil country lies Hyderabad, which has given a great impetus to Urdu by making it a medium of instruction in the Osmania University. This step postulates an organisation for preparation of books in a variety of subjects taught in the University, together with a number of reference books, such as lexicons, commentaries, etc., which automatically augment the cause of the dialect. This is done by the Bureau of Translation, which has furnished text books for Intermediate, B A, and LL B examinations covering studies in History, Philosophy, Economics, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, Law, Medicine, and Engineering. The Bureau is now busy in preparing books for post graduate studies in Arts and Science. In no other Indian University have matters gone so far, although vernaculars are now acknowledged as a suitable subject of study for University examinations, the lead having been given by Sir Asutosh Mookerji some years ago by admitting Bengali and other vernaculars for the M A and other degrees in the Calcutta University. It gave a great momentum to the philological and literary study of at least Bengali, on whose origin and development Dr Sunil Kumar Chatterji has made a most valuable contribution.

Along with these efforts to furnish sufficient help to a student, a number of literary societies have been started in connection with almost all important vernacular languages. They all afford an opportunity for a great deal of research work, especially with the aid of that monumental work, which Sir George Grierson, with his wonderful knowledge of over 500 languages and dialects, has recently finished. It is an indispensable guide notably in the matter of a 'broader outlook' bringing as it does side-lights from all directions, a point on which Sir Jivanji Modi laid special stress in his learned address. The recognition of vernaculars is a recent development and will take sometime to interest cultured men, in view of the fact that spoken languages have been generally regarded as unsuitable for serious work. When the great poet Tulsidas selected spoken Hindi for his poem, he was vehemently discouraged on the ground that a living language was not a suitable vehicle for such a theme. He could not, however, be deterred from his purpose and produced a book which now ranks as one of the best ever produced in India or elsewhere. Merit cannot be marred by the language in which it is conveyed. Despite all this, the old prejudice has however persisted even in our Conference. The latter admits the vernaculars in its programme on equal terms, but the Allahabad Session presented a sad spectacle in this connection, where only a single person out of millions in U P, sent up papers in Hindi. This neglect of what is to be the future *lingua franca* of India was so accentuated at Lahore, that it became a problem for serious consideration whether the Hindi section should be abolished altogether. To prevent this catastrophe frantic efforts were made at the last moment, which saved it from what appeared to be inevitable.

a vast pillared hall of Mauryan time. The remains of the timber wall of Pātaliputra, seen and described by Megasthenes, were also later on discovered. These are royal remains of a royal city, but members will have opportunity of seeing the remains of a University with concomitant monasteries in a better state of preservation. These have been excavated at Nalanda where some of the buildings were 4 or 5 stories high. Here a number of sculptures and inscriptions of great value have been found. One of the latter recovered by Dr Hirananda Sastri one of our sectional Presidents, is of very great importance, referring as it does to a monastery founded by a monarch of Suvarnadwipa or Sumatra and a convent by a king of Yavabhumi or Java. It is this and some other finds which have animated some forward scholars to form a Greater India Society, which is doing very useful work in bringing to prominent notice the influence of Indian civilisation in the Far East. Dr Kahdas Nag has been so enthusiastic as to visit and re visit some of these islands, one of which, Bah, still follows the Hindu religion. Dr R C Majumdar has taken up one of the remotest Indian colonies, viz Annam, on which he has contributed a volume under its old name Champa. These colonies even reproduced Ayodhya, Kausambi, Srikshetra, Dvārāvati, Mathura, Kamboja, Kahnga, Malava, Daśārṇa, Saryu, and Sumeru, thousands of miles away from their old namesakes. 'The numerous stone and brick temples, which in their dilapidated condition still excite our admiration, owe their existence to a mighty wave of civilisation carried across the ocean from the Indian mainland. They belong to Indian creeds and were raised to the same gods, who are worshipped in India proper up to the present day.' The religious movements, says Dr Vogel, of the Hindu-Javanese period subsist as the greatest, that the national genius of Java inspired by Indian ideals has been able to produce. The stories of Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana still form the themes of their literary works. The credit of original research in this connection is certainly due to French and Dutch scholars, but it is not less creditable to the Greater India Society, which is widely disseminating the knowledge of what was totally forgotten. Sir Aurel Stein has been long doing the same sort of work in an opposite quarter, but the amount of information yielded by his finds in the most inaccessible places, which his intrepidity enabled him to conquer, is simply enormous. His recent researches include the identification of Aornos, the capture of which by the Greeks formed the culminating feat of Alexander the Great's Indian campaign. The perusal of his account of the Central Asian expedition published at the end of 1928 alone would show what exploration requires and what it really means.

To return to our old Universities once more, Taxila, another great seat of learning, has disclosed a wonderful spectacle in spite of its devastation by the Huns and their predecessors of that ilk. Despite the devastation, the excavations of ruins have exposed numerous marks of its greatness yielding a lot

and collection of antiquities, which have been stored in the Rajshahi Museum. The excavations at Paharpur were first started by the Kumar and finally made over to Government along with an annual contribution of Rs 2,000 in order to safeguard the interest of his museum. Here at Patna itself the high standard which the editor of the *Journal of the Research Society* has established has been recognised both in India and Europe. Indeed I know of no body in India who can make the oldest sculptures and scripts tell their tales so well as Mr Jayaswal. The knowledge that he brings to bear on the subject of his investigations can only be fully appreciated by men of deep learning in the same field, like, for instance, Dr Luders, who not very long ago was so deeply impressed with the tenacity and skill with which Mr Jayaswal had handled the Kharavela inscription, that he could not help bringing it to the notice of his German confreres. His wonderful capacity to marshall relevant facts from the vast field of Hindu literature as exemplified in his masterpiece, '*Hindu Polity*,' is now a matter of common knowledge. Even the Puranas, which were relegated to the limbo of myths and legends so long, have been made by him to yield historical data of much importance and value. It is this discriminating element, shared by its contributors, which has set a seal of authority on the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. The fact, that there is not a single standard book published of late, including Professor Rapson's *Cambridge History of India* which has not drawn upon or referred to it must be a source of great satisfaction and pride to the members of this serene Society and to the province of its birth. The excavations at Patna were also carried out, helped by private enterprise, the expenses being borne by Sir Ratan Tata. The ruling chiefs have also taken the cue and have established their own Archaeological Departments. In fact, some of the most important antiquities are included in Indian States for instance, the famous Ellora and Ajanta caves belong to Hyderabad, the Bagh caves to Gwalior, the stupas of Sanchi to Bhopal, the colossal Jina of Srāvana Belgola to Mysore and the prehistoric rock paintings of Singhanpura to Raigarh. Everywhere excellent work is being done in this line. In some quarters a religious fervour has been aroused, as at Sarnath, where the Mahabodhi Society is now engaged in constructing a magnificent temple in keeping with the ancient edifices which once adorned the Isipatana Migadaya, where Buddha delivered his first sermon. The programme is an ambitious one aiming, as it does to establish a Buddhist Cultural Institute, similar to that of Nalanda or the great seats of learning in Burma, Ceylon, and Siam.

A very satisfactory progress has been made in another branch of Archaeology, viz Epigraphy the principal source of historical data in this country. In the *Epigraphia Indica* started by Government in 1888, no less than 650 articles on Indian inscriptions have been yet published. Germans have been most prominent in this field, and they remain unsurpassed both in

was much interested in the legal aspect of pouring water to confirm a grant. In his 'Study in the economic condition of ancient India,' the author has collected a good deal of material on economic questions from Southern Indian inscriptions. It is not necessary to quote here all the points of views. Suffice it to say that an intensive study of these valuable records is necessary, as they are bound to unfold many valuable matters belonging to various departments of knowledge. With a wideawake scholar like Dr Hirananda Shastri as the Editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, there is no danger of this being lost sight of. Here it may be mentioned that the *Indian Antiquary*, of which the *Epigraphia Indica* was once a supplement, has given a great stimulus to the study of epigraphy, as have the *Journals of the Asiatic Societies of Bengal and Bombay*. It is satisfactory to find their efforts being supplemented by new journals and research Societies. Bengal stands foremost in this respect with its numerous research and historical Societies, the pace having been much accelerated by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerji. There the beginning was made in 1784 A D, with a very wide scope for enquiries extending to 'whatever is performed by man or produced by nature', within the limits of Asia. The former included history, antiquities, ethnology, religions, and languages and the latter all the sciences. The Asiatic Society has fostered both, encouraging in the end the formation of the Indian Science Congress. It also inspired Bombay to organise something on the same lines 20 years later, when an association was formed under the name of Literary Society of Bombay. This society in 1827 A D became a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, though it still remained closed to the Indians till 1840. Some thirty years later Dr Bhandarkar became a prominent member, through whom our Oriental Conference may be connected with Bombay.

I have already mentioned in another connection the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, which has now taken the lead in epigraphical research. Though yet in its teens, it has done work which others have taken scores of years to finish.

The same causes have impelled cultured Indians to start some vernacular Societies, the principal one being Bangiya Sahitya Parishad mentioned before, whose original object was the cultivation and improvement of Bengali language and literature, but it was subsequently extended to historical, archaeological, and other scientific studies. Exactly the same happened with the Nāgarī Prachārini Sabhā of Benares. In Bombay a similar society under the name of Bhārata Itihāsa Samsodhaka Mandala followed, restricting its field of action to historical researches. It is a matter of gratification that similar Societies now exist in almost all the Provinces those in Madras, Punjab, Bihar, Mysore, Baroda, Hyderabad, Burma, and Ceylon being most prominent. Most of them have added museums of antiquities as the older societies did. The addition of a Kalā

Kashmir as the real cradle of the Aryan race. He is right in remarking that the question bristles with enormous difficulties and still awaits a right solution.

In conclusion there is an enormous amount of spade work done, especially in Archæology and Anthropology which awaits intensive study. This is not an easy task to accomplish and requires an international collaboration before justice can be done to it. Even a scholar of encyclopædic knowledge and stupendous productivity, like Sir Aurel Stein, had to be assisted by scholars from Austria, Denmark, England, France, Germany, and Hungary before he could publish his latest book, 'Innermost Asia'. The Indian scholars can do a good deal in putting materials through sieve and make them ready for scientific use. Obviously the various University centres in this country are most suitable for this kind of work. If the officers of the Archæological Department undertook to deliver lectures in the series of what are known as University extension lectures with a view to train up young men in the methods of research, I am sanguine they could be relieved of much of the literary portion of their work at least. An examination of the contributions made to the *Epigraphia Indica* would show that most of the work there is done by scholars outside the Archæological Department. Some work might well be made over to capable societies, which have lately come into existence.

The present wants appear to be the settlement of many long pending controversies, an instance of which I have casually quoted, viz the location of Aryan Home. Some other questions of the same type are the home of Kālidāsa and his date, Bhāsa's dramas, and localisation of Lankā. In matters of research work no such thing as a final decision of every disputable point exists. Each fresh attempt that promises to bring us a step nearer the truth therefore deserves encouragement. The present day scholars have imbibed this spirit, and it is their continuous activity which renders historical works, specially on ancient India, obsolete very rapidly, as some new find upsets the old theory. There is, however, a great desideratum which is now keenly felt and that is the absence of a history written from an Indian point of view. Active steps were taken in this matter more than two decades ago by the late Rai Bahadur Manmohan Chakravarti, but they did not fructify. The idea was however caught on by some writers of provincial histories and so far as I know, R. D. Banerji was the first to come in the field with a book of that type in Bengal. While reviewing that book a hope was expressed that other capable historians would do their bit for their Provinces, thereby facilitating the preparation of the History of India on the basis of materials furnished by those whose history it would be. In that review I mentioned even names of some prominent writers, whose contributions would be welcomed all over, and it is a pleasure to note that one of them, the modern Tod of Rajputana, has fulfilled the expectations that were then entertained of him. Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai

behalf of the Delegates and moved a vote of thanks to His Excellency for extending Government patronage to the Conference

He invited special attention of Government to scholars and their work

The vote to His Excellency was carried by acclamation

The meeting was declared adjourned for the day by His Excellency

At the conclusion, the procession left the Hall in the order in which it entered. The President and the members of the Reception Committee took leave of His Excellency the Patron

1-2 P M Lunch was served on behalf of the Reception Committee

INVITATION TO GOVERNMENT HOUSE

3-45 P M The Delegates were invited to the Government House to a Tea Party by His Excellency and Lady Stephenson in the afternoon. The party was largely attended by the Delegates and gentlemen and ladies of the Province

MOSHAERAH

6 P M There was a Moshaerah in the Wheeler Senate House and Linguistic Society Meeting in the Patna College. The Moshaerah was very popular and so the gathering was very large

Thursday, the 18th December, 1930

7-30 A M There was a Pandita Sabha in which many Pandits of repute from Benares and other Pandits of the Province, who were specially invited, and Delegate Pandits took part. Śāstrārtha in the traditional style and lectures in modern fashion engaged the attention of the audience which included some European gentlemen and ladies

10 A M to 1 P M Sectional business and the reading of Presidential addresses and papers of the following sections were carried on in the Patna College —

- 1 History and Archæology
- 2 Classical Sanskrit
- 3 Arabic and Persian
- 4 Fine Arts
- 5 Philosophy

1-2 P M Lunch was served on behalf of the Reception Committee

2-3 P M The Delegates visited the Patna Oriental Public Library. Every facility was given by the Honorary Librarian to

the Patron, the President of the Conference, the President of the Reception Committee, Members of the Reception Committee, Sir Jivanji Modi, Mr Justice Macpherson, Vice Chancellor of the Patna University, and others was taken

6 to 8 P M A general meeting of the Conference was held in the Council room of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society

Saturday, the 20th December, 1930

7 A M Delegates went by motors and motor buses to Rajgir hot springs and visited Nalanda Excavations and the Museum

Mr B L Dhama was at home to the members of the Conference in the Inspection Bungalow at Nalanda at 3-30 P M and the Reception Committee entertained the Delegates at Rajgir

Proceedings of the Section of History and Archæology

The meetings of this Section were held in the English Lecture Theatre of Patna College on the 18th and 19th December, 1930 Dr Hiranand Shastri delivered his learned presidential address on the first day, surveying the manifold contributions made by archæology to the study and elucidation of ancient Indian history The number of papers listed under the History Section was very large, being as many as forty-four in number, so the President wisely decided to limit the amount of time to be devoted to each reader This necessitated merely the reading of the papers and no discussion on them was possible In several cases the writers had to content themselves with giving a brief summary of the salient points of their contributions

The following is a list of the papers read —

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|---|-------------------------|--|
| 1 | Dr Radha Kumud Mukerjee | Asokan chronology |
| 2 | Dr R C Mazumdar | Arab Invasions of India |
| 3 | Prof A S Altekar | The Home and Nationality of the Rāstrakūtas of Malkhed |
| 4 | Dr H M Krishna | Excavations in Mysore—some interesting guides |
| 5 | Prof A F M Abdul Qadir | Early Muslim Visitors of Europe from India |
| 6 | Prof K Rama Pisharoti | The Kulasekharas of Kerala |
| 7 | Mr K P Jayaswal | New light on Nahapana |

There was no discussion on any of the aforesaid papers

At the request of some members of the Section the President agreed to deliver his speech at the close of the meeting on the second day, and not at 11 A M this day as shown in the programme

The second meeting of the Section was held on the 19th and the following gentlemen read the papers mentioned against their names —

1	Pandit Dayanand Jha	Some researches in Hindu Astronomy
2	Prof Chintaharan Chakravarti	Characteristic features of Sattaka form of drama
3	Prof Kunhan Raja	A new drama of Bhāsa
4	Pt Dinanatha Shastri	Suparnachiti Method of measurement of time
5	Dr Mangaldeva Shastri	Hamsvāmi, Commentator of the Satapatha Brāhmana and the date of Skandasvāmi, Commentator of the Rgveda

No discussion was held on any of the papers read

The gentlemen noted below were absent and their papers mentioned against their names could therefore not be read —

1	Prof D C Bhattacharya	Mandana, Sureśvara, and Bhavabhūti the problem of their identity
2	Prof S K Das	The Education of the Prince in Ancient India
3	Pt K L V Shastri	Sri Harsa's place in Sanskrit Literature
4	Dr Ishwar Datta	The place of science in Sanskrit Literature
5	Prof Siva Prasad Bhattacharya	(1) The Dhvanyāloka and the text of the Dhvanikārikās, and (2) The Vrndāvana Kāvya and its author

Mr R M Joshi, who was present, did not bring his paper It could not therefore be read

The meeting terminated with a brief presidential speech, which embodied the purport of the President's written speech, which, he said, was not completely ready for delivery Sanskrit grammar was the main theme of his speech He pointed out that, in spite of the restraints imposed by grammarians like Pāṇini, the language had considerably changed and would not cease to do so, as long as it continued to be written He therefore emphasised the need of an

of mediæval interest, such as—History, Jurisprudence, Logic, Astronomy, Politics, and Literature—was properly dealt with. Every authority of importance, such as—Firishta, Badauni, Raverty, Barani, and Ma'arif—had been consulted and were quoted frequently. Moreover every available document of original interest had been perused. Besides tracing the development of education the political and social backgrounds of the times were incidentally portrayed.

- 6 Early Persian Poetry by Dr M Nizamuddin. There was some discussion on Bahram Gore's connection with Arabia.

The meeting was adjourned at about 2 P.M.

On 19th December, 1930, the proceedings began at 11 A.M.

The attendance was as usual. The following papers were read —

- 1 The two traditional mistakes by Maulana Abdul Aziz Maiman
- 2 An unknown Arabic Ode (by An Nazzar) by Dr S. M. Hossain
- 3 Rationalism in Islam by Professor M. Mozaffaruddin
- 4 A forgotten Persian poet by Professor Andalib Shadani
- 5 Abu Tammam's poetry by Dr A. Haque
- 6 Urdu, the beggar minstrel by Professor S. M. Badruddin

The following papers were not read on account of the absence of their authors or for want of time —

- 1 History of Arabic poetry by Maulana Abdus Subhan, Madiasa Islamiya Shamsul Huda, Patna
- 2 Arabic, the mother of semetic languages by Syed Muhammad Badruddin Al Alavi, Muslim University
- 3 Characteristic features of Arabic poetry by Professor Abid Ahnada Ali, Muslim University
- 4 The affinity of the Persian, Urdu, Hindi, and Bengali with the Arabic by the law of interchange by R. N. Saha, M. R. A. S., Benares
- 5 Hazrat Shahir Banu by Mr S. Maqbul Ahmad, Allahabad
- 6 Unique beauty of Arabic language by Professor A. Latif, Cluttagong College
- 7 Hafiz of Shiraz according to his own view by Mr S. M. Eushau, B. A., Madras
- 8 A note on the autograph copies of Saeb's diwan by Professor M. Mahfuzul Haque, M. A., Presidency College
- 9 Letters of Rashiduddin relating to India by Professor Muhammad Shafi, Lahore College

Proceedings of the Section of Fine Arts

Meetings of this Section were held on the 18th and the 19th December, 1930. Mr Ajit Ghosh was in the chair and the meeting of the first day was graced by the presence of the General President,

address was delivered the following papers were read in the two meetings —

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| 1 | Rai Bahadur Sardar M V Kibe | Is Bhagavadgītā post-Buddhist? |
| 2 | Pt Ram Swarup Sastri | Prācīna Nyāya and Navya Nyāya (in Sanskrit) |
| 3 | Pt Devikanta Sīdhanta Shastri | Tantratattvam |
| 4 | Prof D Srinivasachar | A Critical Review of Sattarka Dīpavali—a Prācīna Tīkā recently unearthed |
| 5 | Prof Umesh Chandra Bhattacharya | The Concept of Svadharma in the Gītā |
| 6 | Prof Dakshinaramanjan Sastri | The Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas |
| 7 | Prof Umesha Misra | Gaudapāda Bhāṣya and Māthara Vṛtti |
| 8 | Prof Asutosh Shastri | Vedantic Intuition and Mysticism |
| 9 | Prof Hirendralal Sengupta | Exponents of the Mādhyamika Philosophy |
| 10 | Pt N Ayyaswami Sastri | The Madhyamārtha-Samgraha of Bhāva-Viveka (Restoration from the Tibetan Version) |
| 11 | Mr R Nagaraj Sharma | New light on Śrīvijayendra-tīrtha's works
Renaissance of Realism in Indian Philosophy |
| 12 | Mr Ramakantacharya | Was Sri Sankara a Vaishnavite? |
| 13 | Mr Dharmendra Brahmachari | A Note on the Adhyāsa of Sankara |
| 14 | Dr D M Datta | Theory of Paksatā |
| 15 | Mr R Chand | The Doctrine of Transmigration of Soul, Indian and Greek |
| 16 | Mr Krishnamoorthi Sarma | The Māndukya Kārikās of Gaudapāda |
| 17 | Mr H R Rangaswami Aiyangar | Mādhava—an old Sāṅkhya teacher |
| 18 | Prof T R Chintamani | Prakāśa, Śrīkara, and Kṣīrasā-garamisra—three old Mīmāṃsakas |

Proceedings of the Vedic Section

On the first day (i.e. the 18th December, 1930), the proceedings began at 10-30 A.M. The President declared at the outset that, as a rule, he could allow only ten minutes for the reading of a paper and five for any discussion that might ensue. First of all,

Then Dr Shahidulla read his paper on the Munda affinities of Bengali. Rev Dr Boddington, who was present, offered some interesting remarks on Santali.

The other papers were taken as read.

The following is the list of papers accepted by the Section in addition to the address of the President, viz 'The home of the Indo Europeans' —

- (1) The whispered vowels in Indo Aryan by Baburam Saksena, Esq., Allahabad
- (2) Some linguistic technical terms and their rendering into Sanskrit and Arabic by Prof S K Chatterji, Calcutta
- (3) Mundā affinities of Bengali by Dr Shahidulla
- (4) Cūlikā Paisācī by Dr P C Bagchi, Calcutta
- (5) Dialects of the Khāsālī group by Dr S Varma
- (6) The tertiary stage of Indo-Aryan by Prof S K Chatterji, Calcutta
- (7) Some peculiarities of the Sorathi Dialect by D R Mankad
- (8) The Study of Telegu roots by Dr C Narayana Rao
- (9) A phonetic transcript from Toda by Prof S K Chatterji
- (10) Chinese transcriptions of foreign words by Dr P C Bagchi, Calcutta
- (11) The development of the palatal sounds in some Sanskrit vernaculars by Dr D M Datta, Patna
- (12) Home of the Aryans by Lakshmidhar Kalle, M A, Delhi

Proceedings of the Urdu Section.

There were two sittings, with Mr S Khudabaksh, Bar-at Law, in the chair, on the 17th December at 6 P M. There was a Moshaerah.

The proceedings began at 6 P M. The hall (Wheeler Senate House) was fully packed, and a large number of distinguished scholars and visitors also were present. In the absence of the President, the chair was taken by Qazi A Wadood, Esq., Bar-at-Law. A large number of poets recited their poems. Among those the following were most prominent and their poems were much appreciated —

Prof A Mannan, 'Bedil', of Patna College
 Prof 'Andalib Shadani', of Dacca University
 Munshi Sukhdeo Prasad Verma, 'Bismil', of Allahabad
 M Reyaz Hasan Khan, 'Khayal', Patna
 Mr Nasiruddin Husam, 'Nasir', Bar-at Law, Patna
 Dr 'Mobarak', Patna
 Dr 'Majnun', Patna

- 2 Prof K R Pisharoti—The origin of ornaments (being a study of Karala Ornaments) Discussion by the President, Prof K P Mitra, Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh
- 3 Prof Kshiti Mohan Sen—Ānandaghana, the Jain mystic (No 11) Discussion by Dr Bagehi, Prabhudutt Shastri
- 4 Mr P K Shastri—The Problem of Religious Consciousness as solved in Sikhism (No 8) Read for him by Dr P D Shastri
- 5 Dr P C Bagehi—Foreign Element in the Tantras (No 5)
- 6 Prof P C Mahalanobis—A Revision of Risley's Anthropometrical Data relating to Indian Castes and Tribes (No 16) Discussion by the President and Dr Boddington

Put from the chair and unanimously carried the following resolution —

Resolved that the Anthropological Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference recommend to and request Government that early steps be taken for making provision for taking more exhaustive anthropometric measurements of all the tribes and castes of India

- 7 Prof N M Acharyya—Traces of Sakti Worship at Puri (No 9)

Dr J J Modi read his paper on a Parsi High Priest (Dastur) Azar Kairan with his Zoroastrian Disciples at Patna in the 16th-17th centuries A C

The second meeting was held on the 19th December, 1930 and the following papers were read —

- 1 Prof K P Mitra—The Svastika (No 7)
- 2 Presidential Address
- 3 Dr B Bhattacharyya—The cult of Bhūṭadāmara (No 2)
- 4 Pt R M Shastri—The Kayasthas (No 23)
- 5 Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh—Terra cotta figurines in the Patna Museum and their relation to ethnological races of India (No 14), with plates (Plates with the author)
- 6 Pandit Jamuna Prasad—Dharmastadāvasyakatā ca (in Sanskrit) (No 26)
- 7 Prof Chintaharan Chakravarti—The cult of Jayadūrgā (Paper not given)

Other papers on the printed list were taken as read

Proceedings of the Hindi and Oriya Sections

Both these sections had each two sittings on the 18th and 19th December Mr B Shyam Sundar Das, the President of the Hindi

The Acting President, Professor Kshitimohan Sen of Viswa Bharati, brought to the notice of the writer and the ladies and gentlemen present of some new sources which he had come across in the course of his searches for mediæval mystic songs. The legend persisted in distant localities, among monastic and ascetic orders who are shy of public gaze and publicity. Thus the Yogis have their seats and manuscripts in the Frontier and in the Kālābhairava temple of the Gorakhpānthis in Lahore. Songs about them or manuscripts of their order are commonly found among the mendicants and in monastic libraries at Hinglaj in Sindh, at Dmadhar Hill in Cutch, in Kathiawar and Bhavnagar. The Kabirpānthis speak of the meeting between Kabir and Gopichandra. The cults and traditions of the Nāthas persisted and may be traced in those of the Bāuls and Darveshes who had adopted Islam. Hence the full and complete study of the question is possible, according to the speaker, only if one devotes oneself to make it a life work, by living amongst these various orders of people and learning what they had to impart, but would never do so except to the really deserving, who approach them not with intellectual curiosity but with a living spiritual fervour and hunger.

The Acting President gave his address on the Bāuls of Bengal on which he is a recognised authority. The address was highly interesting and many of the songs and sayings of these mystics, full of poetic beauty and spiritual fervour, were brought before the public for the first time.

No	Names of Universities	Names of Delegates
6	Osmania University, Hyderabad	Maulvi Abdul Haq Dr Abdul Haq B Litt Ph D
7	Lucknow University	Dr Nizamuddin, Ph D Dr Radha Kumud Mukerji, M A, Ph D
8	University of Allahabad	Prof K P Subrahmanya Iyer
9	Annamalai University	Dr A Siddiqi, M A, Ph D MR Ry K Rama Pisharoti, Ayl, M A
10	University of the Panjab	Dr A C Woolner, failing him— Dr Lakshman Swarup and Prof Md Shafi
1	L'Universite de Paris	Dr P C Bagchi Dr Andre Weil Dr Hari Chand
2	University of Cambridge	Prof H G Rawlinson
3	Universitat Bonn vertreten	Dr Breloer

COLLEGES

No	Names of Colleges	Names of Delegates
1	Dayanand Anglo Vedic College, Cawnpore	Prof Munshi Ram Sharma, M A
2	St John's College, Agra	Prof Harihar Nath Tandan
3	Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit College	G K Timmanachar, M A, B T

SOCIETIES, ETC

No	Names of Societies etc	Names of Delegates
1	Anthropological Society of Bombay	Dr Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, C I E
2	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal	Vishwanath P Vaidya, Esq Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray M A, M R A S Mr Brajendra Mohan Maitra, M A, B L Mr Kshitish Chandra Sarkar M A, B L Mr Bijaya Nath Sarkar B A, C E Mr Nirad Bandhu Sanyal, M A, B L Mr Dharani Mohan Maitra M A, B L

LIST OF ORIENTAL CONFERENCES AND THEIR PRESIDENTS

I	Poona	1919	Sir R G Bhandarkar
II	Calcutta	1921	M Sylvain Levi
III	Madras	1924	Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr Ganga Nath Jha
IV	Allahabad	1926	Dr Shamsul Ullema J J Modi
V	Lahore	1928	Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sāstri, C I E
VI	Patna	1930	Rai Bahadur Hira Lal, B A

Articles.

Section of History and Archæology.

President

DR HIRANANDA SASTRI, M A , M O L , D LITT

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ARCHÆOLOGY IN INDIA AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR INDIAN HISTORY

DR HIRANANDA SASTRI, M A , M O L , D LITT

India is an ideal country for research. Her ancient literature including the *Rgveda* which is decidedly the oldest book known in this world, her ancient civilisation which is still surviving, her numberless old sites full of antiquities of all sorts lying unexplored from Kanyākumārī to the foot of the great Himalayas afford very rich material to the explorer in whatever branch of research he may engage himself without ever causing him very strenuous labour or enormous expenditure provided, of course, he has a desire to get at it. India will prove a real *rasundharā* for him.

Indians of the hoary past did not care much for history, not because they were destitute of historical instinct but because they cared more for the next world than for the matter of fact human existence. To them the world before their eyes was *māyā* or illusion and what was beyond the grave or the *smasāna-bhūmi* was the real world. It is owing to this wrong or perverted conception of metaphysics that we do not possess real historical works written by the ancients of this country. It is on this account that we practically know nothing in regard to our great sages and heroes and it is on this account that we are led to take them to be mere myths. The wonder of wonders is that whereas the stories of other countries which were formerly taken to be allegories are gradually being proved to be historical facts, our legends, *itihāsas*, *purāṇas*, etc., remain hardly more than mere fiction. Even the *Arabian Nights* are now being taken seriously and the seven voyages of Sindbād the Sailor, to be history, so much so, that endeavours are now being made to trace out the valley of diamonds in right earnest. This would not have been the case had our ancestors thought of this living world also and not preferred to waste their energies on *parvatō jahnmān*, *dhūmāt*, *yan=n=avam tan=n=avam*, and so on. One would wonder indeed when he remembers that these very scholars had the mottoes like *yas=tarken=ānusandhatte, sa dharmmam veda n=etarah*, and *na rte srāntasya sahyāya devāh*, i.e. 'He alone knows what *dharma* is, whose investigations are based on *taṛla*, i.e.

material and the maintenance of the agency through which it is being accomplished, I mean the Archæological Survey Department, are real boons conferred on us, for which we are all thankful. But for this noble work much of the material on which Indologists are now engaged would have been lost, possibly for ever. It is to Lord Curzon, in the first place, that all this is mostly due and we are highly grateful to him for it. Without indulging in platitudes, I would like to say some words about the pioneers of Archæological Research in India and other scholars, Indian as well as European, who have done substantial work in bringing to light the facts relating to our past history, such as Henry T. Colebrooke, Horace Hayman Wilson, Sir William Jones, Bhauda Ji, Rajendra Lal Mitra, etc. My not mentioning other scholars should not be taken as implying that they did not do anything, or as casting any reflections on them. Some worked on lines other than archæological, while the rest busied themselves in their own way. My *dhanyarādas* go to all to whom they are due.

First of all I should mention the glorious name of James Prinsep to whom we are indebted for the decipherment of the Brāhmī alphabet. This great scholar was born on the 20th of August, 1799, and died in 1840. He was an assay master at the Calcutta Mint as well as Secretary of the Bengal Asiatic Society in succession to H. H. Wilson and, devoting his leisure to Indian inscriptions and numismatics, succeeded in determining the value of practically all the ancient Brāhmī symbols between 1834 and 1837. By erecting the Prinsep's Ghat, an archway on the bank of the Hooghly, in his memory, the citizens of Calcutta and through them, all of us, have paid the debt of gratitude, at least to some extent, which was due to that great *rsi*. Sir Alexander Cunningham is the next sage to whom, I should say, India is highly indebted for the noble work he did for her. He entered the service of the Government of India as a Lieutenant of the Royal Engineers in June, 1831, and set himself almost at once to the researches that have made his name so well known. Within three years of service he gave us his first publication, viz. 'The correction of a mistake regarding some of the Roman coins found in the Tope at Manikyalā opened by M. Court' (*Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 635 ff). He was selected for the post of the Director General of the Archæological Survey of India in 1870.

Survey Department He died at the age of 85, spending his long life in serving the Muse of Archæology so very meritoriously Then comes the revered name of George Buhler, to whom Indian Epigraphy owes ever so much He was born at Borstal in Hanover in the house of a clergyman in 1837 and died at the age of 61 in 1898, being drowned while boating in a lake It was he who realised the value of traditional Sanskrit learning and its repository, the oft despised 'Pandit', for whom he had nothing but profound respect—*gunī gunam vetti na vetti nir gunah* We know how he insisted on the appointment of a thorough bred *śāstrīn* of the old school, both for the help of the advanced students and for his own assistance His numerous publications, especially the works on Indian Inscriptions, his search for Sanskrit and other manuscripts, his works on our *Dharma-sāstras*, his *Encyclopædia of Indo Aryan Research*, in particular, his masterly treatises on the *Indian Brahmi Alphabet and Palæography* with his well-known nine palæographic tables—works not yet superseded or supplemented—will keep his sacred memory quite fresh in the minds of every Indologist of whatever nationality he might be It is said that in the depth of knowledge of Sanskrit he could equal our old *śāstrīs* and, excepting Whitney's, his Sanskrit learning remains unsurpassed in Europe Franz Kielhorn was the other European scholar who, together with his friend, the late Professor Buhler, exercised a great influence in opening the eyes of the learned world in Europe to the importance of traditional Indian scholarship 'It had become fashionable to distrust Indian tradition, and to try to find the way back to the old Indian civilisation without consulting it' It was both Buhler and Kielhorn who showed that this was a grave mistake Kielhorn studied Sanskrit grammar under the guidance of the Pandits themselves—the very Pandits whom some of us look down upon with scorn In Europe he was considered as 'the only scholar who had thoroughly penetrated into the depths of the old grammatical system of the Hindus' His study of the *Vyākaraṇa* according to traditional methods enabled him to give us a masterly edition of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* and of Nāgōji's *Paribhāṣendusāhkhara* It is impossible here to enumerate the many important contributions Indian history owes to him John Faithful Fleet is known to us by his volume on the *Gupta Inscriptions* in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Series, and his work on Kanarese Inscriptions He came to Bombay in 1867

lum His epigraphical discoveries in Nepal, for which Dr Buhler called him 'the pathfinder in the history of Nepal', his contribution to the study of Cave Numerals, to the interpretation of the now well-known inscription of Kharavela, the Nanaghat Inscriptions, the Āndhra coins and his discovery of the famous Lion Capital of Mathurā with Kharoshthī Inscriptions incised on it, etc etc, have made him immortal indeed His achievements in the domain of archæology received public recognition first from the University of Leyden which, on the recommendation of the late Professor Kern, who was another *isi* and did so much to bring many a fact relating to our past history to light, conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of Ph D Then comes the illustrious and revered name of Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar I do not think India in recent years has produced a greater antiquarian so very accurate and sound in judgment He was born in 1837 and breathed his last in 1921 after earning a fair name not only for himself but for his country through his researches and very scholarly publications His edition of books like the *Mālatīmādhava* and various articles can well be taken as models by scholars who want to do similar work in this country The *Early History of the Deccan* and *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems* are the two great monuments he has left to perpetuate his memory The splendid work which this gifted son of Sarasvatī did was duly appreciated by learned societies not only in India but also in Europe and America and also by the Government of India It is not my object to give a life sketch of him and of other scholars or to review their works Scholars have done that already and we can read the same in publications like the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *Indian Antiquary*, etc It is rightly remarked that Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar was every inch a student and scholar and we should follow his footsteps in our investigations and try to be as unbiassed and accurate as he was To Kielhorn and Hultzsch, the two other eminent European scholars, we are highly indebted for the various researches they made in Indian Epigraphy

Rai Bahadur V Venkayya and Mr R D Banerji are the two scholars who stand prominent in the galaxy of Indian researchers of note The former proved to the satisfaction of Indologists that Indian scholars could also be accurate in their epigraphical researches As Dr Sten Konow has rightly remarked every thing that came from him bore testimony to the scrupulous care and conscientiousness, the

as I have already stated does not mean any reflection on them. There are so many scholars who have done splendid work to unravel the past history of this vast country and we are beholden more or less to all of them. The debt we owe to these scholars I would call *rsi rna* which we have to pay by studying and continuing their noble works. All of us, of course cannot do this. Those who cannot personally, should sympathise with and try to promote that work. Let not people say that the sons of the soil are indifferent or apathetic to it while others are doing whatever is possible for them to promote it. I cannot help remarking that in the majority of cases our own people are indifferent and in some cases they even go so far as to state that such a research work causes waste of money. It is rather due to the scholars or Indologists of Europe that interest in archæology and all its branches is being kept alive and I would bow down to them all in gratefulness for what they have done or are doing to promote the noble cause of Archæology, Epigraphy and Numismatics.

With these preliminary remarks I should like to tell you something about the splendid work which archæological research has done in India—a sort of *simhātālōlana* on it. In doing so I cannot help traversing beaten ground for most of you know about it. Still, refreshing the memory of some and informing others of a few new things will not be out of place for one whom you have honoured by selecting as Chairman of the section I am presiding over.

First of all, as a son of the *dharma pradhāna* *desa*, I should like to mention the identification of the old Lummī garden or the sacred spot where Siddhārtha, one of the greatest men the world has ever produced, was born. Till this was done, the great Buddha was considered to be not more than a mythical personage. The Asoka pillar at Rumminder in the Nepalese Terai with the words *Hida Budhe jāte Salyamvū tī, Hida Bhagavām jāte tī Lummī gāme* clearly engraved in the old Brāhmī script indisputably set aside all doubts to his being a historical reality. Now we have located the place where he died and was cremated and I feel a pardonable pride in saying that the copper-plate which I myself excavated at Kasia in the Gorakhpur district has considerably contributed towards clearing the doubts regarding the location of the antique Kusanagara which is a most hallowed or sacred place for the Buddhist world. Other places like Sarnath, the Jetavana, etc., have also been identified with

tions were attempted I wonder if these pictographs form a branch of the ancient five-fold *lipi*

Mudrā lipih silpa lipir=lipir=lekham sambharā |

Gundikā-ghana sambhūtā lipayah pañcadhā smrtāh ||

They are not connected with any known Indian script though they seem to contain *mātrā* marks on them

Without telling old stories I might say something in regard to a few fresh archæological discoveries to further show the usefulness of archæological research for Indian history, both new and old The Indian chief who seems to have been largely responsible for vanquishing the bloodthirsty Huns the tyrant Mihirakula and his hosts, was hitherto known to us by the name of Yasodharman The stone inscription which has recently been excavated at Nālandā tells us that his name was Yasovarman and not Yasodharman This invaluable record which I am bringing out in the *Epigraphia Indica* further tells us that Mālāda, the son of a Turki prince who was a minister of the said sovereign and his guardian of the frontier, was a devout Buddhist who brought offerings for the image of the Buddha set up in the temple which Bālāditya had built at Nālandā That even Turks embraced Buddhism and bowed down to the All-Compassionate Buddha one of the noblest sons of India, is a matter of pride for us indeed

The Chola inscriptions which have been dealt with by us from time to time, like the two records at Uttaramallūr, tell us how developed the system of village administration was in the South during the Chola times Such a system could not have come into force all of a sudden like something extraneous The details of the communities which then governed villages, the qualifications needed for their membership, the defects which disqualified persons for membership of such communities and the arrangement of committees would all go to prove that Indians in the South were in a highly advanced stage of civilisation in those days For instance, the tank committee, spoken of in these inscriptions, seems to have been responsible for the upkeep of tanks used specially for irrigation It not only looked into the repairs and the annual removal of silt but also dealt with the questions regarding endowments for tanks The gold committee probably regulated the currency The members of each committee were expected to take an active part in discussing questions brought before it One of these inscriptions refers to eloquence at committee meetings as a special merit As the late Mr Venkayya remarked,

sway in Burma about the mediæval period. Epigraphy which is unquestionably the most copious and important source of early Indian history supplies accurate information regarding the dark epochs of the long forgotten past. The well-known Khāravela inscription, the contents of which have been so creditably discussed by my friend Mr K P Jayaswal and the late lamented Mr R D Banerji need not be dilated upon here. A fresh article on it by both of them is in the course of publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Not only the large inscriptions but the short ones also which we find written on seals shed definite light on our political and religious history and also the history of the development of art in India. The official seals that have been unearthed enable us to draw interesting conclusions in regard to the system of government which was in force during ancient days. The large square seal found at Vaisālī with archaic symbols, and a three lined legend in the Mauryan Brāhmī script reading *Vesālī-anusamyānaka Takāre* would show that there was a regular police system in vogue during the Mauryan ascendancy. The seal apparently belongs to the Metropolitan Police of Vaisālī stationed at the outpost of the Takāra village within the jurisdiction of the Vaisālī municipality. Another seal excavated at the same old site of Vaisālī goes to indicate the existence at Vaisālī of a Local Government under a Royal Viceroy of the ruling dynasty whose capital was Pātaliputra. Some of the seals found at Nālandā, which still await publication, help us to establish the genealogy of certain kings, as does the Soupat seal of Harsa. The clay seals of the Maukharis and other rulers which we have briefly noticed in our Annual Reports are instances of the kind. It is true that these relics of yore are portable and we cannot base our conclusions exclusively on their evidence the more so, when we know that sometimes very modern things have been dug out along with them, such as the Austrian amulet found along with the Mauryan Police seal of Vaisālī—it would be absurd to infer from this that the house of Hapsburg ruled in Vaisālī before the Mauryas! Such finds only go to confirm our conclusions which we have drawn from other documents more or less of a positive nature.

These are now old tales and you are familiar with them. Archæology and epigraphy are not only helpful in constructing authentic history of ancient India but of modern, I mean Muham-madan or Mughal India, as well. Leaving aside numerous epigraphs

coins are rather our sole guides. The noble service rendered by the founders of the Numismatic Society of India to popularise the study of coins by publishing the results of their investigations is too well known to the readers of the publications of the Society to require mention here. I cannot help remarking in this connection that the enthusiasm which marked the labours of numismatists like Messrs R. Burn, N. Wright and other Englishmen, who have now retired and left the field, is hardly to be found in their Indian successors although they are expected to put forth greater energy in such studies, as they are meant for the elucidation of the history of their own motherland.

I do not think I am to be considered a flatterer when I say that it is to the Europeans that we are beholden for the selfless work they have done in connection with the various branches of Archæology in India and in teaching us the way to continue it on the scientific lines they have chalked out for us. My head bows down to them all for the noble work they have done for us. We also have done a good deal. Some of us, at least, have proved ourselves to be their equals in every respect—perhaps Ekalavya has superseded Drona¹. Let that be as it is. Time has come when Indians should come forward to take up the research work wholeheartedly and do it with unflagging zeal and redeem themselves of the debt due to their ancestors. I earnestly hope that what has been stated by me will make at least some of you take to whatever branch of archæology appeals to you, in order to build up our ancient history and thus enable our motherland to raise her head in pride for her noble achievements in the past.

ASOKAN CHRONOLOGY.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M A , PH D ,
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A close and comparative study of the Aśokan Legends and Inscriptions will yield a fairly complete set of dates for the important events in the life and reign of Asoka. Of these dates, the two initial ones are those for Asoka's accession to the throne and for his coronation, and when these are settled, others will follow from them, and also from one another. The initial dates may be determined as follows

274 B C —Date of Aśoka's accession to the throne. This date is taken as the starting point of Asokan Chronology, from which the reckoning of other dates will be made both backward and forward. The date, 274 B C, is established by the convergence of evidence from different sources. If we make a start with 323 B C as the date of the commencement of Chandragupta Maurya's sovereignty, both Brahminical and Buddhist texts the *Purāṇas* and the Ceylon Chronicles agree in assigning the same duration for his sovereignty, viz 24 years. This brings us to 299 B C, as the date of Bindusāra's accession to the throne for whom, again, the *Purāṇas* assign a reign of 25 years. Thus we arrive at 274 B C as the date of Asoka's accession to the throne. All other dates in Asokan history will be seen to fit in with this initial date so as to produce a complete chronological system.

270 B C —Date of Asoka's Coronation. This date is derived from the following passage of the *Mahāvamsa* [V 22] 'Four years after the famous Aśoka had won for himself paramount sovereignty (*ekarajjam*) he consecrated himself as King in the city of Pāṭaliputra.' This date is the basis of Asokan Chronology, because all other dates cited in the legends or the Edicts are counted from it, the year of the King's *abhiseka*.

This date that we derive from the *Mahāvamsa* we may also deduce from the Edicts. Rock Edict XIII refers to five Western Kings as Asoka's contemporaries who, according to the Cambridge History of India [Vol I, 502], were all living up to 258 B C when one of them (Magas of Cyrene), if not another (Alexander of Epirus),

former at the age of 20, and the latter at 18. This leads us to the date 284 B C as that of the birth of Mahendra, and to the date, 282 B C, as that of the birth of his sister. If his eldest son was born in 284 B C, when was Asoka born? We take it that he was born in 304 B C and became a father at the age of 20. A younger age for his fatherhood is ruled out by the limits indicated in *Mahāvamsa*, XIII, 8-11, stating—(1) that Asoka was sufficiently old before his marriage to have been deputed by his father to serve as Viceroy at Ujjayinī and (2) that, on his way to Ujjayinī, at the town of Vedisa, he met his first love, Devī, who became the mother of Mahendra [*Ib*]

We thus obtain on the basis of a collation of evidence from both legends and inscriptions the following set of dates

304 B C —Birth of Asoka

286 B C —(1) Date of appointment of Asoka by his father Bindusāra as Viceroy of the province of Avantī (*Avantīrattham bhuñjante*) and of his journey to its headquarters at Ujjayinī, halting at the town of Vedisa on the way [*Mahāv* XIII, 8-10]

(2) Marriage of Asoka with Vedisa-Mahādevī-Śākyakumārī (as designated in the *Mahābodhivamsa*), the daughter of a merchant of Vedisagiri, who became the mother of Mahendra

What must have been the age of Asoka in 286 B C? The highest limit for it is 18. Otherwise he would be too young for Viceroyalty, if not for marriage too

284 B C —Birth of Asoka's eldest child, Mahendra, as already explained [*Ib* V, 204]

282 B C —Birth of Asoka's eldest daughter, Samghamitrā [*Ib*]

274 B C —(1) War of succession between Asoka and his brothers, (2) Death of the Crown Prince, Sumana, in the war, (3) Consequent accession of Asoka to the throne and to supreme sovereignty (*ekarajjam*), (4) Birth of Prince Sumana's posthumous son, Nigrodha [*Ib* 40-50]

270 B C —Asoka's Coronation [*Ib* 22]

270-240 B C —Asandhimitrā figuring as Asoka's chief Queen (*Aggamahesī*) at the Court of Pātaliputra [*Ib* 85, XX, 2] instead of Devī, his first wife, who was all along left at her native town, Vedisa [*Ib* XIII, 1, 8-11]. This agrees with the fact stated in RE V that Asoka had his harems (*olodhana*) at Pātaliputra and also 'in out lying towns' (*bahilesu cha nagalesu*, Dhauli Text)

comprising *cātyas* and in stating further that these were erected at places where the Buddha had dwelt (*ye pradesā adhyusitāh Bhagavatā Buddhena* which is equivalent to 'Jinena parivutthasthānesu' of the *Mahāv* already cited) [*Div*, p 389 of Cowell's edition]

265-262 B C —Period when Asoka remained as a mere *upāsaka* of the Buddhist Samgha [MRE I, already explained]

264 B C —(1) Ordination of Mahendra by the Thera Mahādeva, with Majjhantika acting as President of the chapter which had met for the required *Kammavācam*, his second ordination by Moggalliputta Tissa acting as his *upādhyāya*

(2) Ordination of Samghamitrā by her *ācāryā*, Ayupālā, and by her *upādhyāyā*, Dhammapālā [*Mahāv*, V, 204-209]

(3) Consequent promotion of Dharmāsoka from the rank of a *Paccayadāyaka* to that of a *Sāsanaadāyaka* [*Ib* 197]

263 B C —Birth of Kunāla, son of Asoka by his wife, Padmāvatī, 'on the day when 84,000 *Dharmarājikās* were completed by Asoka' [*Div*, p 405]

262 B C —(1) Conquest of Kalinga and its consequences to Asoka in intensifying his zeal for the Dharma [RE XIII] and leading him to a closer association with the Samgha (*Samghe upagate*) and strenuous exertions on its behalf (*parākrama*) [MRE I] (2) Death of the monks, Tissa and Sumitta, followed by the growth of heresy and riches in the Samgha and the consequent retirement from it of Moggalliputta Tissa 'in the 8th regnal year of the King' [*Mahāv*, V, 227-30] (3) Accession of Mahendra to the headship of the Samgha [*Ib* 232]

263-250 B C —Period of Asoka's pilgrimage to Buddhist holy places in the following order mentioned in the *Div* (pp 389-397) (1) *Lumbinī vana*, visited 'first of all' (*sarvaprathamena*), (2) *Kapilavastu*, (3) *Bodhimūla* or *Bodhi*, (4) *Vārānasī*, (5) *Rṣipatana*, (6) *Kuśinagara*, and (7) *Jelavana* containing the stūpas of the Buddha's chief disciples, Śāriputra, Mahāmaudgalyāyana, Mahākāśyapa, and Ānanda. Of these, the most important were the four connected with the Buddha's (a) *Jāti*, Nativity, at No (1), (b) *Bodhi*, Enlightenment, at No (3), (c) *Dharmacakra*, first preaching, at No (5), and (d) *Parinirvāna*, Dissolution, at No 6

This account of Asoka's pilgrimage is somewhat different from that of the Edicts which mention his pilgrimage to only two of the above places, viz Bodhi Gaya or Sambodhi in 260 B C [RE VIII]

253 B C — Meeting of the Third Buddhist Council under Moggalliputta Tissa as President [*Mahāv* V, 280] and despatch by him of evangelisers to different countries [*Ib* XII, 1-8]

The Edicts also tell of the despatch of missionaries, called *Dharma Mahāmātras* or *Dūtas* [RE XIII], to foreign countries, but it was by Aśoka directly, and not by Tissa. The legends mention more of these countries than the Edicts, and the following in common, viz (1) Gandhāra [RE V], (2) Yavāna [RE V and XIII], (3) Hīmalaya (which includes peoples like the Nābhakas, Nābhatis or Nābhapanitis mentioned in RE XIII), (4) Aparāntaka [RE V], (5) Mahārāstra (the house of the peoples named Andhras, Pulindas and Rāṣṭrikas in RE V and XIII). The South is represented in the legends in the countries called Mahīsamandala and Vanavāsī and in the Edicts in the peoples called the Satyaputras, Keralaputras, Cholas and Pāndyas [RE II].

As to the date of these foreign Missions, the legends begin them in 253 B C, but the Edicts refer to them as in full swing in 258 B C [RE II and XIII]. They also confine them to purely religious work, the preaching of select Buddhist doctrines. But the Edicts give them extended scope and present them as Missions of Social Service promoting medical measures for the relief of suffering of both man and beast [RE II] and achieving *Dharmaviṣaya* or Moral Conquest [RE XIII] replacing *Āsura viṣaya* or Military Conquest.

252 B C — Mahendra already 12 years a monk, visits his mother, Devī, at Vedisa before proceeding to Ceylon [*Mahāv*, XIII, 1, 8-11].

251 B C — Gift of a cave in the Khalatika Hill as shelter against rain [Khalatika Hill, No. 2, Cave Inscription].

250 B C — Visit to (1) Lumbini where were erected a Pillar and a Shrine as memorials of the Visit, (2) the *Stūpa* of Buddha Koṇākamana repaired and doubled in size with the erection of a memorial Pillar.

243-242 B C — Issue of Pillar Edicts.

240 B C — Death of Asandhimitrā, 'the dear consort of Aśoka and faithful believer in the Sambuddha' [*Mahāv*, XX, 2].

236 B C — Tiṣyarakṣitā figuring as chief Queen [*Ib* 3]. She is also mentioned as Aśoka's *agramahisī* in the *Div* (p. 407).

235 B C — Despatch of Kunāla as Viceroy to Taxila then in revolt [*Div* 1b]. Kunāla was then 18 years old.

AN UNPUBLISHED CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF AURANGZEB'S ACCESSION IN VERSE

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This rare contemporary historical record in verse relating to Aurangzeb's accession belongs to the State Library (His, No 603) of Hyderabad, Deccan—the tableland of Ajanta, Ellora—the last home of Aurangzeb himself where he lies buried. I have not been able to trace a second copy of it anywhere. I am quite certain that this has never been used by any student of history. This contains very useful information based on personal observations and impartial motives. The author has named it in the last chapter —

'AURANG NAMA'

It opens with the praise of Almighty God, as usual with Persian books

بسم حدای که از صبح پاک نکرد آریده حقایق و حاک
عمه را زبان دادهم چشم و گوش حردمندی و دانش و رای و عروش

and followed by a brief survey of Taimur's dynasty in India. The author has not given his exact name anywhere with the exception of his poetical pen-name 'HAQIRI' (Humiliated) in several places —

بیا ای حقیری و لطف حدای بگو نعت پیغمبر رحیمی
معر حقیری ایا نادشاه که حر دات پاکت ندارد پناه

Therefore I have entered this under the name of—

'AURANG NAMA-I-HAQIRI'

in my work 'The Main Sources of Aurangzeb's Life' simply with a view to distinguish it from other such works. Haqiri was Shia by religion and came of the Rozebehan clan who used to live in Central Asia, as he has said all this in this book, which is given here in proper place

The metre of the verse is the same that of Shahnama of Firdousi. The size of the book is normal 10×7 inches. It has 278 folios, 15 verses on each page, i.e. about 5,000 verses in all,

- 12 On seeing the state of affairs Shahjahan bestows *kingdom* upon Aurangzeb

عمه ملک خود را فرار و شیب سراسر سپارم ناورنگ رب

- 13 The affairs of Murad and Aurangzeb

- 14 Aurangzeb pursues Dara to Multan where he receives the information as to the coming of Shuja who crowns himself in Delhi

- 15 Sultan Mohammad, son of Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla start against Shuja and encamp on the bank of the Ganges

The author has given each and every detail, specially of all the skirmishes of Mir Jumla in which he himself was participating, as a soldier of Aurangzeb under Mir Jumla

In all the battles Shuja is completely defeated and at last puts all his bag and baggage to fire and comes to Dacca Here the author Haqiri gives a few verses in which he says something of himself referred to above —

حقیری ر لطف حدای کنیر	بدایا رسید آن سپہدار میر
سدم چاکر آن فریدون کلاه	که خلعت بحواند اورنگ شاه
چیس ناک دارم اراں ناکدین	که بودم در اندم تنانده رصین
تعیات میر حملہ ناک دس	بودم دران حک و بیکار و کین
بژادم بدانی تو زور بهان	عمه سرفرارند سرد شہان
وطن کاشان گوهر راد و بوم	بود درمیان صفایان دادم

عمه سرگذشت سپہدار میر ناجر رساندی حقیر ظہیر

- 16 From here Shuja goes to the Jungles and encounters Rajas of Tipperah, Karkot گورکات, and Dhot دھات

- 17 Dara's last battle at Ajmer from where he escapes towards Sindh to go to Kandhar and reaches Bhakkar where he is welcomed by (Mahk) Jiwan who entraps him

- 18 Aurangzeb starts for Delhi where he is proclaimed Emperor of India and new coins are struck in his name

- 19 Dara is brought to Delhi and meets with death by the orders of Aurangzeb and properly interred in Humayun's tomb

MUHAMMAD BIN TUGLAK AND THE RĀJA OF MA'ABIR

REV H HERAS, S J

Ferishta relates that Muhammad bin Tuglak conquered the country of Ma'abir in 1327¹ Now the country of Ma'abar has usually been identified with Madura in the South Ibn Batuta and other Mussulman historians of this period often speak of the Sultans of Madura as Sultans of Ma'abar Ferishta mentions 'the Rāja of Maabir' If we suppose that Ma'abir is the same as Ma'abar, this Rāja, according to the above identification, will be the Pāndya King of Madura² Nevertheless this author says that the Rāja of Maabir and the Rāja of Dwar-Sumoodra (Dorāsamudra), i.e. the Hoysala King 'were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic'³ There cannot be any doubt about the significance of this phrase The former government of the Carnatic, to which some tributaries were annexed, was the Chalukya Empire of Kalyāni The Hoysalas acknowledged the Chalukya Emperors, though sometimes very reluctantly, and many petty chiefs of the Karnātaka and Konkan did the same Among these tributaries of the Chalukyas, was the Pāndya King ever included? This is the crucial question of this paper If the Pāndya kings were at any time tributary to the Chalukyas, our argument will fall to the ground If, on the contrary, the Pāndyas never acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukyas, the Rāja of Ma'abir could not have been the Pāndya King of Madura Hence the importance of examining the relations between the Chalukyas and the Pāndyas

The only event in which the Pāndya King is shown to have come in contact with a Chalukya Emperor is found in the Velvikudi grant of Neduñjadayan One of his generals is said to have 'put to flight with (great) loss, in an infantry attack at Venbai, the Vallabha of a vast army of archers,'⁴ towards the end of the 8th century The very early mention of the Pāndyas among the Kings

¹ Ferishta Briggs, I, p 413

² Cf Nilakantha Sastri, *The Pāndyan Kingdom*, pp 204-206

³ Ferishta Briggs, I, p 427

⁴ *E I*, XVII, p 309, v 136

Goa was the seaport through which the Arabs entered India, and knew India. Goa was Ma'abar. How the whole of the Southern India afterwards came to be called Ma'abar is not difficult to explain. For the Muhammadan historians of Delhi, leaving far from Goa and the Coromandel Coast, the whole southern country surrounding the seaport called Ma'abar soon came to be called 'the country of Ma'abar'. Thus Ibn Batuta speaks of 'the governor of the country of Ma'abar', meaning the governor of the Southern possessions of Muhammad bin Tuglak.¹ Thus the word Ma'abar was soon synonymous with the South. In this sense Wassaf says that in 1310 during the reign of Alla ud din Khalji 'the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were dispatched to conquer Ma'abar'.² This was the first expedition of the Mussulmans of Delhi to the South, when the southern country was absolutely unknown to them. Hence the word Ma'abar could not be applied to any kingdom or city in particular, but only to the southern country in general. Later on when Madura became the most important conquest of the Delhi Sultans, that country became Ma'abar *par excellence*.³ And naturally the Pāndya Kings were accordingly called 'Rais of Ma'abar'.⁴ To mention some parallel instances—Hemachandra, the Jaina writer of the 11th century, when writing from Anhilwada (in northern Gujerat) about the city of Chandrapur situated in Southern Konkan, puts it in the Dekkan⁵, and later on the word Carnatic was applied to the eastern coast of Southern India, though its original and natural meaning was limited to that part of the country where the Kannada language was spoken.⁶ Thus the whole of Southern India became Ma'abar for those writers who are living in Delhi, for instance Barni, or for those southern travellers who were already imbued with the phraseology of the Delhi Court, as for instance Ibn Batuta

¹ Elliot, *History of India*, III, p. 618 ² *Ibid*, p. 50

³ Cf. Elliot, *o c*, III, p. 90, Gibb, *Ibn Batuta*, p. 252

⁴ Elliot, *o c*, III, pp. 88, 219

⁵ *I A*, IV, p. 233

⁶ The application of the name Carnatic to the eastern coast was due to the change of capital of the Vijayanagara Empire from Vijayanagara and Penukonda, to Chandragiri and Vellore in the Tamil country. The Emperor was still called the Rāja of the Carnatic (his old title) by the servants of the E I Co and by the Dutch merchants. Cf. *English Factories*, 1642-1645, pp. 67, 80, 81, etc. Naturally after some years, the country where he was reigning was supposed to be the Carnatic.

ancestors¹ Therefore supposing that, in 1248 when Shashta-deva became king, Kāma-deva was at least 25 years old, in 1310-11, at the time of the expedition of Mallik Kafur, he was an old man of 87 or 88 Hence we cannot decisively state that he witnessed the capture of Gopakapattana by the Khalji general Either he or his son—whose name is unknown to us—transferred the capital to Chandrapura, where he tried to restore the faded glory of the Kadamba family

But such efforts were of no avail Not many years later and soon after the accession of Muhammad bin Tuglak, a new Mussulman army re-conquered the kingdom of Ma'abir Ferishta tells us that on this occasion the Delhi Sultan 'subjected the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumoodra, Ma'abir, Kumpila, Wurangol,' etc² And in order to leave no doubt as regards the limits of this conquest, the same author presently adds (as if summarising the results of the campaign) that he 'subdued the whole of the Carnatic, both in length and breadth, even to the shore of the sea of Ooman',³ i.e. the Arabian sea It is therefore clear that Muhammad bin Tuglak again conquered the kingdom of Ma'abir 'even to the shore of the sea of Ooman' In the first conquest by Mallik Kafur the city of Chandrapur, not being then the capital of the kingdom, had probably been spared by the invader But before the second campaign Chandrapur had become the *rājadhānī* of the King of Ma'abir, and so probably experienced the full wrath of the invaders

As a matter of fact, in the course of some excavations conducted at Chandor last April, by an expedition of the Indian Historical Research Institute, a copper coin of Muhammad bin Tuglak was found within the *garbhagrha* of an ancient Saiva temple, mixed with the debris and mud which filled up the building A huge granite Nandi, nearly six feet long, was found badly mutilated in a pit in front of the temple not far from its original position Inside the *garbhagrha* a stone image of one of the Saptamātrkāś, Vaisnavī, was also discovered The group had been purposely broken leaving intact only Vaisnavī and the left leg of Kumārī It was evident that the iconoclasts wilfully destroyed the images

¹ Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions*, I A, XIV, p 288

² Ferishta Briggs, I, p 413

³ *Ibid*

A PARSI HIGH PRIEST (DASTUR) AZAR KAIWAN, WITH
HIS ZOROASTRIAN DISCIPLES AT PATNA IN THE
16TH-17TH CENTURIES A C

(Summary)

DR JIVAJI JAMSHEDJI MODI

Introduction

The object of the paper is to give a brief account of a band of Zoroastrian priests and laymen—with Dastur Azar Kaiwan at their head who visited northern India, and stayed at Patna, in the latter part of the 16th and the earlier part of the 17th century A C

*The Moghul Emperors as Friends of Literature—Religious and
Secular*

The Court of the Moghul Emperors of India was a kind of Academy, where men of Literature, Art and Science met under the patronage of the Rulers Their patronage and encouragement drew many outsiders to India

The Position of Parsees at the time of Akbar

Though individual Parsees had risen to fame and some high positions in the time of Humayun Akbar and their successors, more cannot be said with certainty about the Parsee community as a whole Mr Morland, in his '*India at the death of Akbar*' says, that their position was not clear The profession of most of them was husbandry, some cultivated palm trees, the wine made out of which trees on the Persian Gulf and in Mesopotamia was celebrated for its health-giving quality In the time of Cambyses, the then King of distant Abyssinia liked it and attributed to it the health of the Persians, which, however, he thought to be inferior to that of the Abyssinians A number of Parsees were weavers and some resorted to commerce The literature they knew of here was mostly religious, in the matter of which they occasionally consulted their co religionists of Persia

former, are well known in Northern India, up to Kashmir. During my three visits of Kashmir, I heard of the *Dabistān* several times. In the last century, a number of oriental scholars like Sir W. Jones, Erskine, Norris, Silvester de Sacy, William von Schlegel, and even Warren Hastings, took part in the discussion about the originality and importance of these books. The *Dabistān* described the religions of India at the time when it was written.

The Author of the Dabistān

The author of the *Dabistān* is not known. At one time, he was taken to be one Mohsan Fani, and there was some discussion about it in the beginning of the last century. He seems to have travelled a good deal and gone to Kashmir and to the various towns of Punjab and Gujarat. He had gone to Naosari in Gujarat, the headquarters of the Parsi priesthood. He had come to India from Persia and died in India in 1670. The author names, in more than one place, the disciples of Azar Kaiwan, whom he met in Kashmir and Patna.

From what Dastur Edalji Darabji Sanjana, the learned translator of the *Sharistān-i-Chehar Chaman* says, one may say that, possibly, at first, parts of the *Dabistān* may have been written by Azar Kaiwan himself, and then, the unknown author added his own versions. Wherever he says, that he met certain disciples of Azar Kaiwan and travelled in Punjab and Gujarat, etc., there it is he personally who speaks, but the other portions describing various creeds may have been originally written by Azar Kaiwan. The unknown author added his own portions here and there but the main part descriptive of the various creeds may be Azar Kaiwan's own. This seems to explain why the author does not give his name. As he knew that most of his work was Azar Kaiwan's writing, he dared not announce himself as the author. Dastur Edalji Sanjana says, on the authority of his teacher, Rustomji, that the *Dabistān* formed the 4th Chaman of the *Sharistān-i-Chehar Chaman*. Thus, when we see, on the one hand, that the author of the *Dabistān* does not give his name as the author, and (b) on the other hand, that the 4th Chaman of the *Sharistān-i-Chehar Chaman* is not given in its current texts and (c) when we read what Dastur Edalji says that the *Dabistān* was mentioned traditionally, as the 4th Chaman of the *Sharistān*,

who was said to be a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and then to Sassan V, a contemporary of Khusro Parvīz. All the five Sassans were supposed to be mystics. From his mother's side, he had relations with the great Chosroes I (Noshervan). His native country was Ishtakhar, the Persepolis of the Greeks, where from the age of 5 he had begun showing some mystic tendencies of taking very little food and sleep daily. He had passed 28 years of his very young life in seclusion in a very narrow straitened place (khum). We read of some supernatural or over extraordinary events of his life. He abstained from flesh diet and had acquired the power of taking out his soul from his body and of re-entering it. He died in India in about 1618 A.C. at the age of 82.

Was he a Dastur?

Some Parsee writers of the last century speak of him as a Dastur. But the *Dabistān* or the works of his disciples do not speak of him as such. I have used the epithet Dastur, which seems to have come down traditionally.

His Disciples

He had a large number of disciples, some of whom had come with him from Persia and some had joined him in India. The *Dabistān* names 13 Zoroastrian disciples. 12 other Zoroastrians are mentioned on the authority of one of his disciples. The *Dabistān* names 11 non-Parsee disciples, of whom 5 were Mahomedans, 2 Jews, 1 Christian, and 3 Hindus. I give, in my paper, a few particulars about these disciples. Among the Zoroastrian disciples some were Mobads or priests. Some have the epithet Farzaneh (i.e. wise or learned) prefixed to their names. Some of these disciples were learned and knew Arabic, Persian and Hindi. The descent of many of them is traced from Kayānian and Sassānian kings and heroes. They were from different cities like Shiraz, Ispahan, and Herat. One had gone to him from Surat in India. Two or three Zoroastrian disciples are said to have been born at Patna. It seems that some Zoroastrians may have gone to Patna some time before Azar Kawan. Perhaps, one of the reasons of Azar Kawan having made Patna his headquarters may be this, that there were already some of his co-religionists there. The dates of some of his disciples' deaths ascertained from the *Dabistān*

- their monasteries, but did not even admit female animals, e g she-goat, or a cow or hen
- 7 They could create things out of non existence
 - 8 They could know the secrets of others
 - 9 They passed sleepless nights
 - 10 They could make themselves invisible
 - 11 They travelled long distances in unusually short times
 - 12 They appeared at one and the same time in different places
 - 13 They brought the dead to life
 - 14 They deprived the living of their life by miraculous powers
 - 15 They understood the language of (a) animals, (b) vegetables, and (c) minerals
 - 16 They could produce various kinds of food and drink without any visible means
 - 17 They walked (a) on water, (b) in fire, and (c) in air
 - 18 To punish and frighten the evil minded, they (a) could flood their fields or (b) create extraordinary huge figures in the air
 - 19 They can change worthless things like broken pottery into gold
 - 20 They could marvellously create extraordinary houses with the sun moving in them
 - 21 They turned themselves into animals
 - 22 They threw into fire clothes which did not burn
 - 23 They made themselves invisible by the recital of incantations
 - 24 They swallowed fire
 - 25 They made houses appear full of serpents
 - 26 They, by a particular influence on others, made them answer questions as they liked
 - 27 They ignited matches, whereby there appeared immediately dancing ladies who appeared all naked
 - 28 They suppressed their breath for hours together (hubs-e-dam) In one case it was for 24 hours.
 - 29 They remained underneath water for two watches (pâs) i e six hours
 - 30 Some moved about all naked during the day and night during summer and winter

THE CHAUHAN KING, BAIJALA DEVA II OF PATNĀ STATE

L K PANDYA

The State of Patnā, which was formerly included in the Chhattisgarh Division of C P 's and has been transferred since 1905 to Orissa, appears to have been an important principality. The state is not wanting in historical and archæological remains suggestive of its past glory and civilised occupations. In olden days a group of 120 temples adorned the beautiful site of the present village of Rampur Jharia, surrounded by rocky hills and containing a fine and large tank of oval shape, with two *ghats* having regular stairs. One of the temples here is a fine example of the Indian Hypæthral Temple of which only a few specimens now exist, i.e. one at Khajurāha in Central India and the other at Bherāghāt, in Jubbalpur District, C P. The age of temples of this style is generally attributed to the 10th century A D. Such temples are better known by the names of 'Chaunsath Jogini temples' for the fact that they contain in the cloister 64 niches for holding the *Yoginīs* mentioned in the *Durgāpujā Paddhati* and *Kālīkā Purāna* respectively with 64 distinct names. In one of the temples, there is an inscription¹ which has not yet been fully deciphered. There are two or three fragmentary inscriptions² in the Patnā State which are dated Samvat 1000 and Samvat 1253 but to what Samvat Saka or Vikrama they refer to is not certain. But this much is clear that prior to the establishment of the Chauhan rule at Patnā, the state was inhabited by a civilised people about the history of whom nothing is yet definitely known. According to an historical Hindi Poem named '*Jayacandrikā*' composed by Prahlād Dube of Saranagarh in Vikram Samvat 1838 (1781 A D) the 'Asta-mallik' form of government was prevalent in the Patnā State about the beginning of the 12th century A D. To quote the Hindi poet —

¹ This is in Devanagari script and mentions one Someśvara Deva Bhattacharya Parmeśvara (see P S)

² One of these has the words '*Pātnā Dandpāta*' (See P S) *Arch Sur of India Reports*, Vol XIII

पुत्रहि समान प्रजा पाली पुर पट्टन की
 होत थरहरित लोक देश परदेश के ॥
 तपत प्रताप तप्त तपन समान भूमें
 भनत प्रह्लाद कन्या व्याड़े देश देश के ।
 ये तो चौहान रामचण्णी सूर्यवण्णी अछै
 विमल जस उदित है रमई नरेश के ॥

He describes रमई नरेश as Chauhan of रामचण्णी and सूर्यवण्णी ।
 Further he records the geneology of रमई देव in the following lines —

गढ सँभरी चौहान को अस पूर्व को विरतन ।
 पुर पाटना महँ आल रमई देव उत्तम पन्त ॥
रमई नरेन्द्र को पुत्र भै पुनि महालिङ्ग भुआल ।
 १ १
 महालिङ्ग को सुत भयो वैजल देव नृप विकराल ॥
 ३
 पुनि भयो वैजलदेव नन्दन भोजराज भुआल ।
 ४
 सुत भोजराज के भये विक्रमदेव भूप विगाल ॥
 ५
 भै भूप विक्रमदेव के परतापमल्ल नरेश ।
 ६
 परतापमल्ल नरेश सुत भूपालदेव विशेष ॥
 ७
 भूपालदेव नरेन्द्र के सुत विक्रमाजित भूप ।
 ८
 पुनि विक्रमाजित देव सुत वैजलदेव अनूप ॥
 ९
 सुत भये वैजलदेव को श्रीधिराधर नर नाह ।
 १०

जिन के प्रताप प्रचण्ड भै नवखण्ड मेदिनि साँह ॥
 नृप धिराधर को नन्द भै दुइ सुरति मे जस काम ।
श्रीरामदेव सुजेछ, लघु वलरामदेव सुनाम ॥
 दोहा० सापत्नी को बान्धव दुयो रामदेव बलराम ।
 रामलखन सो अवतरी करी सु पूरन काम ॥

This very *sloka* is enough to shut the mouth of those who doubt the *Ksatriya* Origin of the Maharajas of Patnā cum Sambalpur Kingdoms This Sanskrit poem is named *Probodha Candrikā* by the author himself but it is known in Orissa and Bengal by the name of *Bayal Kārīlā* or *Bayal Kāvya* The manuscript I refer to begins with the following —

श्रीगणेशाय नमः । अथ वैजल-काव्य प्रारम्भ
हरिहरगुरुभक्त सर्वलोकानुरक्त ।
त्रिभुवनगत-कीर्ति कान्ति-कन्दर्पमूर्ति ॥
रणरिपुगण-कालो, वैजल चोष्णिपालो
जयति जगति दाता, सर्व-कर्मावधना ॥ १ ॥

The object of the composition of the poem is given thus —

ससाराभोधितरण रामनामानुकीर्तनम् ।
रामनामान्विता तस्मात् प्रक्रिया क्रीयते मया ॥ ८ ॥
बालकानां प्रबोधाय तोषाय विदुषामपि ।
आकल्पमपि ससारे कीर्त्यवस्थापनाय च ॥ १० ॥
चिन्तयन्निति निर्यातं क्रीडत श्रीहिराधरम् ।
श्रीमान् वैजलभूपालो विलोक्य सुतमन्त्रवीत् ॥ ११ ॥

× × × × ×
यावन्न राजचर्या ते यावन्न विषयग्रहः ।
यावन्न यौवनमद-स्तावत् विद्यानुपार्जय ॥ १८ ॥

Further the author says —

प्रबोधचन्द्रिका नाम रामनामसमाश्रिता ।
अज्ञानतिमिरध्वंसकारिणी चिन्तहारिणी ॥ ३५ ॥
बहवः प्रक्रियां ग्रन्था सन्ति चेत् सन्तु का क्षतिः ।
मालतीमधुनिष्ठापि मधुपानामनादरः ॥ ३६ ॥

From the above quotation it is clear that Bayal Deva's father was Vikramāditya and his son, Hiraadhar Deva This is exactly what we find in the Hindi poem by Prahlad Dube

It is, however, much to be regretted that the Sanskrit poem *Probodha Candrikā* gives no date of its composition Nor does it give any information about the time of Bayal Deva II's reign

In one place the poem mentions one Hammir, who, I believe, is no other than the famous Chauhan King of Ranathambhor who was

Line 1 ॐ नम शिवाय । श्रीसोमेश्वरदेव-भट्टारक परमेश्वर-वरप्रसादे
श्रीउत्तरहेरम्ब-गृहविनिर्गत गगनशिव ।

Line 2 अभिराम आचार्येन इदं स्थानं कीर्तितम् । सर्वे तीर्थफलसमायोग
लोकानुग्रहकम् पुण्यं सोमस्वामी सिद्धेश्वरम् ।

Line 3 लक्ष्मीनामा चतुर्थकम् इदं तीर्थं स्नात्वा सर्वपापविमोचन ।
श्रीसोमेश्वरनाथ तव पादयुगलाराधनैः कुत चम ।

Line 4 प्रशमयि (प्रणमति ?) गगनशिव यदि वदो मुक्तिं ददासि शङ्कर ।

What can be made out of the above is that under the patronage of King Somesvara Deva—a Sādhu by name *Gagana Śiva* who had come from 'Uttara-Heramba-Grha,' got the temple constructed

Rai Sahib M M Ghosh, curator of the Patnā Museum, contemplated a visit to Ranipur Jharia and Bolangir with a view to decipher these and other inscriptions there. It is hoped that he will soon lay the result of his labours before the learned public

(b)

The name 'Patnā Dandpāta' is suggestive of the fact that it was a remnant of the old name *Ganadanda-nāyaka*—a minister and *Ganadanda-Pāla* an officer in charge of the maintenance of army and can connect the *Asta Mallik* system of Government to the Hindu Republic or *Gana* of very remote antiquity. In the neighbourhood of *Patnā* we still find a State by the name of 'Athmallik' which was ruled by eight representatives of the people by turns, which gave it the name it still bears

ARAB INVASIONS OF INDIA

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From the very beginning of their aggressive and triumphant military career, the Arabs cast longing eyes towards the fair valleys and cities of India. There were at that time three important kingdoms on the western borderland of India, which may be roughly denoted as Kabul, Zabul and Sind. 'The highlands of the Kandahar country, along the upper waters of the Helmund, were known as Zabul or Zabulistan.' Kabul or Kabulistan was the country round Kabul, lying more to the north, on the frontiers of Bamiyan. Sind, the largest of the three, not only included the modern province of that name, but extended towards the north far into the heart of the Panjab, and on the west it counted as its dependencies the coastal province of Makran and the hilly country of Kekkāna (Arabic Al Kikan or Kikanan) round the Bolan Pass. According to the testimony of Arab writers all these kingdoms belonged to India proper whose frontier extended up to Kish (modern Kaj or Kuhich) far to the south-west of Kandahar, and this is corroborated by such other evidences as we possess.¹

Every student of Indian history is familiar with the story of Muhammad-ibn-Kasim's conquest of Sind. He regards it as but natural that the powerful Arabs whose triumphant career was unchecked from the Pyrenees to Pamir would make an easy conquest of Sind. The surprise has rather been felt why the Arabs made so little progress in the further conquest of India.

But the true nature and significance of the Arab invasion of India has hitherto escaped proper recognition. The fact is that the conquest of Sind is not an isolated fact, but merely a part of a complex problem. It was not the beginning of Arab conquest,

¹ See foot note 15 below. Baladhuri refers to Kish as the frontier of al Hind. The extent of the kingdom of Sind is given in *Chachnama* (herein after referred to as Ch^o). I have used the English translation of Ch^o by Fredunbeg (Karachi, 1902) and the English Translation of Baladhuri's account by Murgotten.

which were all undertaken during the Caliphate of Umar (634-643 A D)

The defeat at Debal must have taken by surprise the Caliph Umar whose arms were victorious in distant parts of the world. Having failed to approach Sind from the sea coast on the south, he sent an army to Makrán and Kirmán with a view to attack the western frontier of the kingdom but like a true statesman, he at the same time asked the governor of Irak to send him detailed information about the country. The governor reported that the king of Sind was very powerful and by no means willing to submit to the Muhammadans. Thereupon all ideas of sending further expeditions against that country were abandoned.³

an expedition undertaken during the Caliphate of Umar, as the latter succeeded to the Caliphate only in 13 A H. Similarly Ch² gives wrong dates for the beginning of the Caliphate of 'Alī (p. 38) and Mu'awiya (p. 61).

Similarly the statement in Ch² that Chach had ruled for 35 years when this expedition took place cannot be correct. This is not only in conflict with the statement in the *Tuhfat ul Ibram* that Chach ascended the throne in 1 A H, but is also irreconcilable with the general statements of Ch² about Chach and his successors.

It may be noted here that Ch² does not mention the naval raids against Thana or Broach which are mentioned by Baládhuri (p. 209).

³ The statement that Umar sent an expedition to Makrán and Kirmán is based on the authority of *Chachnama* (pp. 78 ff.). But it is clear from the context that the expedition was recalled before it could achieve any success. Al Baládhuri ignores this expedition altogether. Later authorities refer to the success of Moslem arms in this expedition. According to *Tarikh-i-guzida* the Moslems conquered on this occasion not only Makrán and Kirmán but also Sijistan, although the ruler of Sind helped the king of Makrán. Hasan bin Muhammad Shuráji referring to the same incidents, adds that the ruler of Makrán, called Zambil, who was also king of Sind, was killed. Habíbus Sıyar and Tabarí also refer to this expedition. These authorities, however, give different names for the leaders of this expedition, and a perusal of al Baládhuri, our earliest authority, leaves no doubt that the whole thing was a confused echo of certain incidents which happened at a later period. Al Baládhuri, for example, narrates many incidents described by these authorities, but they belong to a later period. Further, Makrán and Sijistan were conquered by the Moslem forces at a much later date.

Elliot seems to have accepted the later authorities (Vol I, pp. 417-8) which are in conflict with the statement, accepted by Elliot (p. 421) that at a later period the governor of Basra sent his agent 'to explore Sijistan and Makran as well as the countries bordering on the valley of the Indus'.

fled to Makran⁷ Sinan, the leader of the next expedition 'proceeded to the frontier and conquered Makrán' He established a garrison there and made it his headquarters⁸ The Arab forces were apparently unable to proceed any further Hence Sinan was replaced by Rashid who proceeded from Makran and led a successful raid against Kikanan But later, while raiding the Mhd (i.e. Meds) he was defeated and killed⁹ He was succeeded by Sinan who led another expedition against Kikinan He proceeded up to the district of Budhia in Kikanan but the people there rose against him and killed him¹⁰ The next expedition was led by Al Mundhur (Munzir in Chachnama) He raided al-Bukan and al Kikan and conquered Kusdar, which although previously conquered by Sinan had rebelled against the Muslims But Al Mundhur died at Kusdar The command was then taken over by Ibn-Harrī who subdued Kusdar and fought a fierce and successful campaign there acquiring much booty¹¹ But Al-Kikan was far from being subdued For

⁷ Balādhuri (p. 211) Ch. (p. 62) gives more details of the disaster Both authorities refer to the curious anecdote of a pregnant woman by way of illustrating the hospitality of the leader of the expedition Baladhuri refers to some initial success of the Islam army but this is omitted in Ch. This expedition probably took place in 46 A.H. (Weil I, p. 291)

⁸ Baladhuri (p. 212) Apparently there is some confusion about this incident Baladhuri refers to a tradition according to which Makran was conquered by Hakim ibn Jabalah al-Abdi Ch. (p. 63) refers to Sinan as having succeeded Abdulla, but does not refer to his conquest of Makran It, however, says that Almaf son of Karsh, who was selected for the holy wars in Hind remained at Makrán for two years

⁹ Baladhuri (p. 212) Ch. (p. 64) gives more details of this expedition It says that Rashid returned after a year from Kikanan, and 'travelling via Sistan he came to the mountains of Mauzar and Bharij The natives of this mountainous country mustered about 50,000 men strong to stop him on his way A bloody battle ensued and Rashid fell a martyr

¹⁰ Ch. (p. 65) Baladhuri (p. 212) refers to Sinan's succession in command but is silent about his expedition to Kikán and death Ch. quotes a memorial verso relating to the martyrdom of Sinan

¹¹ Balādhuri (pp. 213-14) Ch. (p. 66) says that Munzir died of illness at Burabi, and does not give any details of his success Nor does it refer to Ibn Harri's campaign Ibn Harri seems to have conquered al-Bukan Baladhuri refers to a memorial verso to that effect and adds The inhabitants of al-Bukan to day are Moslems al-Barmaki built a city there which he named al-Baida (the white) This was in the Caliphate of al-Mutawakkil

and the Arabs laid siege to it. After a few months a breach was made in the city wall by means of stones thrown by manjaniks. Then the Arabs attacked the city at night, but though they fought the whole night they could not overcome the defence. At day-break the defenders made a brave sortie. Unfortunately an elephant that was killed at the battle fell just at the gate from which they issued so that they could not close it and the Arabs entered the city by force. A treaty was concluded—on what terms we do not know—but it was shortly broken, and Kabul had to be conquered a second time (pp 146 147) ¹⁴

From Kabul the conqueror proceeded against Zabulistan ¹⁵. As already noted before, Abd ar-Rahman, during the first period

¹⁴ Raverty gives a somewhat different account of this conquest of Kabul on p 62 of his '*Notes on Afghanistan and part of Baluchistan*'. He writes

'In 43 A H (663 64 A D) the Arabs invaded the territory of Kabul under Abd ur Rahman, son of Sumrah, who was the lieutenant of Abd ullah, son of Amir, governor of Khurasan. He marched from Sijistan after capturing the capital of that country. Kabul Shah, at that period, was known by the title or name of Ariq, but this appears to be an Arabic word, and signifies lameness from birth. He moved out, with his forces to meet the Musalman invaders, and after a severe battle retired within the walls of Kabul, and did not sally out again. Abd ur Rahman continued before it for a full year, after which, his army having suffered great hardship and fatigues, the place was taken. The fighting men were put to the sword, and the women and children were made captives. The Kabul Shah was also taken, and his head was ordered to be struck off, but he was spared on his agreeing to become a convert to Islam. He was then received into favour, a tribute was fixed, and the Musalmans retired.'

Raverty does not indicate his source of information about this detailed campaign, but it is evidently based on *Turjuma i futuhat* of Ahmad bin Asmi Kufi, quoted by Dowson (Elliot, Vol II, p 414, fn 1). It is not certain whether the account refers to the first or the second conquest of Kabul. The latter seems more probable.

In connection with the Muslim conquest of Kabul Baladhuri makes a very interesting statement which deserves more than a passing notice. 'Abd ur Rahman,' says he, 'took with him to al Basrah slaves captured at Kabul, and they built him a mosque in his castle there after the Kabul style of building' (p 147). The fact that one of the earliest mosques to be built at an important centre of Islam was modelled after Kabuli style of building, is full of importance for the history of the origin of Saracenic Style. But this topic being only of secondary importance in the present discussion, cannot be treated any further here.

¹⁵ Both Elliot and Raverty, and following them other scholars, have accepted the view that both Kabul and Zabul denoted one and the same kingdom

Governor, attacked him at Bust, put him to flight, and pursued him until he reached ar-Rukhkhaj. After attacking him in Ar-Rukhkhaj, Ar-Rabi continued to advance and subdued the city of Ad-Dawar. Ubaidallah who succeeded Ar-Rabi as governor of Sijistan continued the campaign and reached Razan when Ratbil concluded with him a treaty of peace for his own country and the land of Kabul. As regards the terms we are simply told that the peace was established on the payment of 1 million dirhams.¹⁷ But the peace was short-lived. Towards the end of the reign of Caliph Yazid (64 A H = 683 A D), Kabul revolted once more and imprisoned Abu Ubaidah ibn-Ziyad. Yazid ibn-Ziyad the governor of Sijistan proceeded against Kabul and a great battle took place at Junzah. But the Moslem army was completely routed. The governor himself and some distinguished members of the aristocracy lay dead on the field and the rest fled. Abu-Ubaidah had to be ransomed for 500 000 dirhams.

Ratbil fomented and aided rebellions in the Arab domain of Sijistan where the people expelled the Arab governor. Ratbil soon declared war against the Arabs and apparently proceeded nearly as far as Zarah lake, for we are told that the new governor was compelled to stop in the city of Zaranj. But Ratbil was killed and his soldiers were put to rout (685 A D).¹⁸

variations easily accounted for by the nature of the Persian letters" E. Thomas, "Ratpil", Price, "Ratel," "Rattel," or "Ratpel".

¹⁷ Baladhuri (210) refers to a border raid in 44 A H. by Al Muhallab in course of which he passed through Bannah and Al Ahwar, towns between Multan and Kabul, and reached Al Kikan. Bannah seems to be the same as Bannu and Al Ahwar was probably a neighbouring town. As regards the result of the raid Baladhuri simply says that 'the enemy met and attacked him and his followers'. Evidently Muhallab did not achieve any success.

Firishta, as usual gives an exaggerated account and takes Muhallab to Multan and identifies Al Ahwar with Lahore. These presumptions are absolutely without any basis and may be dismissed as incredible. It may be doubted whether the city of Lahore existed at that time at least under the present name. The objective of Muhallab's raid was Al Kikan, and both Multan and Lahore were far away from the route, Elliot (Vol II, p. 415) gives some details of Abdur Rahman's campaign against Kabul, apparently on the authority of Baladhuri. But the text translated by Murgotten does not give these details.

¹⁸ Elliot apparently refers to this episode (Vol II, p. 416), when he says —

'In 64 A H = 683 A D. Abdul aziz, the governor of Sistan, declared war against the king of Kabul and in the combat which took place that

the affront, an army was raised, named the 'peacock army' so splendidly was it equipped at the cost of a heavy war cess on Al-Basra and Al-Kufa. The command was placed in the hands of Abd-ar-Rahman-ibn-Muhammad ibn-al-Ashath who marched against Ratbil in 80 A H (699 A D), put him to flight and ravaged his land. The commander, mindful of the recent reverses, wanted to proceed cautiously, but Al-Hajjaj, upbraiding him with faint-heartedness, peremptorily bade him to fight on, and when the commander expostulated with him, threatened his supersession. The army, as well as its commander, strongly resented the action. Abd ar-Rahman made favourable terms with Ratbil, and declaring war both against Al-Hajjaj and the Caliph, marched on Al-Irak, and captured Al-Basra. The rebellion having assumed serious proportions, the Caliph took alarm and offered terms to the rebels. Abd-ar-Rahman was inclined to accept the offer, which included supersession of Al-Hajjaj, but the rebel army rejected it. At last a great battle was fought in 82 A H (701-702 A D) and Abd-ar-Rahman was signally defeated by Al-Hajjaj. Pursued by the latter, Abd-ar-Rahman was again beaten on the Persian border and took refuge with Ratbil, who a year, or two afterwards sent his head to Al-Hajjaj.²¹ He is said to have died or committed suicide

was compelled to purchase the liberation of himself and followers for a ransom of seven hundred thousand dirhams'

Raverty evidently follows the same authority and adds to the above extract 'It is said that, when his (Ubaid ullah's) wearied and half starved troops reached Mussalman ground, and their own people brought forth food and relieved their necessities, many ate their fill and fell down dead immediately after' (Raverty—*Notes on Afghanistan*, p 62) Raverty gives the name as Ubaid ullah—which agrees with that of Balādhuri. Elliot spells it as Abdulla. Both give 79 A H (898-99 A D) as the date of the event.

²¹ Elliot, Vol II, p 416. Price, Vol I, pp 455-463. Muir—*Caliphate*, p 336. Strangely enough, Baladhuri passes over the whole episode though he refers to the rebellion of Abd ar Rahman, and his tragic end.

Raverty gives interesting details, but as usual, does not indicate his authority. He says that Abd ar Rahman, after prolonged fight with Hajjaj, was compelled to fly in 81 A H (700-1 A D) and took shelter within the walls of Bust, which was held by one of his own subordinates named Iyaz. Raverty then continues—

'He (Iyaz) seized and imprisoned Abd ar-Rahman and proposed to send him to Hajjaj. Zantbil (i.e. Ratbil) immediately on hearing of this marched his force to Bust and invested it on all sides and threatened Iyaz and all within the

collected tribute from Ratbil of Sijistan 'as well as they could,' which certainly does not mean much ²³

When the Caliph Al-Mamun (813-833 A D) visited Khorasan, Ratbil paid double tribute to him, but was evidently left unmolested. Al-Mamun, however, sent an army against Kabul, probably the Shahi ruler of Kabul, who submitted to taxation. Al-Baladhuri further says that the king of Kabul professed Islam and promised obedience ²⁴. That is the last Arab expedition against Kabul and Zabul and the dissolution of the Arab empire which soon followed, ended the long drawn struggle.

We may now sum up the results of the Arab raids against Kabul and Zabul. During the period of 50 years that elapsed since the first raid in 28 A H (649 A D) we may distinguish three periods of alternate success and failure. The first period of 7 years ended with the Caliphate of Uthman (656 A D). In spite of a promising beginning, the Arab forces achieved very little during this period. During the second period, renewed efforts were made by the Caliphs Ali and Mu'awiyah, and thanks to the brilliant skill and energy of Abd-ar-Rahman ibn-Sanurah Islamic forces obtained notable successes against the rulers of Kabul and Zabulistan. The removal and death of Abd ar-Rahman in 50 A H (670 A D) ushered in the third period of nearly 30 years in which the Islamic arms sustained serious reverses both in Kabul and Zabulistan which had their repercussion on the whole Muslim world. The fruitless efforts of half a century (c. 649-700 A D) convinced the Arabs that the conquest of these territories was beyond their power. Henceforth they were glad to let them alone and merely sought for imposing some sort of suzerainty upon them. But even this was with difficulty maintained for a very brief period (700-714 A D). For the next century and a half Kabul and Zabul maintained their authority practically unimpaired. The

²³ Price refers to an expedition against Kabul in 107 A H (725 A D) during the Khilafat of Hisham—(Vol I, p 567). Raverty refers to two expeditions against Kabul, in 152 A H (769 A D) and 170 A H (786 A D). But none of these achieved any substantial results.

²⁴ As to the King of Kabul's accepting Islam and promising obedience the Arab accounts repeat it too often to be taken seriously. It seems the Islamic creed sat very lightly upon that ruler and he apostatised at the earliest opportunity. There are good grounds to believe that that was also the case on this occasion. In any case we find an independent non Muhammadan ruler in Kabul in later times.

THE HOME AND NATIONALITY OF THE RĀSTRAKŪTAS OF MALKHED

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There is a great controversy about the home and the nationality of the Rāstrakūta family which later established itself at Malkhed. The country round Kanauj, Āndhradesa, Mahārāstra, and Karnāṭaka have all been claimed as the home of the above Rāstrakūta house by various scholars. In this article it is proposed to examine these theories with a view to solve the problem. It will be shown that the ancestors of Dantidurga were originally immigrants in Berar from Karnāṭaka and were ruling there for a century and half before they rose into prominence under the leadership of Dantidurga.

Dr Fleet has suggested that since the names Rāthor and Rāthod are to be derived from the term Rāstrakūta, we may connect the Rāstrakūtas with Rajputana and Kanauj country, which seems to have been the original habitat of the Rāthor clan of the Rajputs¹. But the Rāthors come into prominence much later than the southern Rāstrakūta families, and it is quite possible that the Rajput Rāthors may have been the descendants of some members of the Deccan Rāstrakūta families, left behind in northern India during the northern campaigns of Dhruva I, Govinda III, Indra III, or Kṛṣṇa III. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the settlement of Maratha families in Central and Northern India in the course of the Maratha expansion during the 18th century.

Burnell was inclined to hold that the Malkhed Rāstrakūtas were Telugus and were of the same stock as the Reddis of the Āndhra country². This view does not bear close scrutiny. The Reddis are at present scattered even over Tamil country and north eastern portions of Mysore state, but their original home and present stronghold is Āndhra country. The Reddis of Mysore are undoubtedly of Telgu origin,³ and those in Tamil districts still speak a broken Telgu dialect, which clearly betrays their Āndhra origin. If we suppose

¹ B G, I, ii, p 384

² *South Indian Palaeography*, p 10

³ *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVIII, p 191

Bhojakas, this will show that they were occupying portions of Mahārāstra and Berar. The next reference to the Rathis is in the Nanaghat inscription of Queen Nayanikā where we learn that she was a daughter of Mahārathi Tranakayira. At about this time there existed numerous feudatory rulers known as Rathikas, for in connection with the western expedition of king Khāravela his Khandagiri inscription informs us that he carried away the wealth and crowns of all the Rathikas and Bhojakas. There are two records at Karli, belonging to a little later period, recording the benefactions of Mahārathi Gotiputa Agimitanaka and Mahārathi Vasithiputa Somadeva¹. The latter grants a village which shows that he was a ruling chief. A Bhaja record discloses the existence of a Mahārathi Vinbudatta, and a Kanheri one that of a Mahārathinī Nāgamūlanikā, who was the daughter of a Mahārāja and a sister of a Mahābhoja.

It is usually supposed that the Rathis and Mahārathis were in power in Mahārāstra only, but there is definite evidence to show that they were occupying portions of Karnātika as well. Lead coins bearing the legend 'Sādakanī Kalalāya Mahārathi' have been found near Chitaldurga². These coins belong to the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The Hirahadagalli grant of Sivaskandavarman is addressed, among others, to the Rathis³. We further find that some of the Maharathis were closely connected with Canarese families. Nāgamūlanikā of the two Kanheri records, who was married to a Mahārathi, was the daughter of Hāntiputra Visnu kada Chūtu Sātakanī, who was a Canarese prince ruling at Banavasī⁴. Some of the Mahārathis were Nāga worshippers⁵ and Nāga-worship was extremely common among the inhabitants of Mysore⁶. Since some of the Rathi families were Naga worshippers and connected by family ties with families residing in the heart of Karnātika, we are justified in concluding that the Rathis and Mahārathis were in power also in parts of Karnātika, especially since coins of Sādakanī Kalalāya Mahārathi are found in the heart of Karnātika. It can therefore be no longer maintained that the Rathis and Mahārathis were confined

¹ *J B B R A S*, V, pp 152-3

² Rapson, *Catalogue*, p LIII, *Luder's list*, No 1021

³ *E I*, I, p 4

⁴ Rapson, *Catalogue*, p LIII

⁵ Cf. the names Nayanikā, i.e. Nāganikā, Agimitanaka, i.e. Agimitra, Nāga, Nāgamūlanikā, Skandanāga, etc., that occur in the above inscriptions

⁶ Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p 202

The name of the great grandfather of Nannarāja Durgarāja, seems to have paved the way to the formation of the name Dantidurga. This close similarity in the names of the members of the two houses can hardly be explained except on the assumption that the two families were connected with each other. Indra, Karkka, Dhruva, Govinda, Akālavarṣa Subhatunga, Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa and Dantivarman were the names of the different members of the Gujarat Rāstrakūṭa branch, and all these names are borrowed from those of the rulers of the main line. The names of the 4 out of the 5 rulers of the Gujarat Chālukya branch,—the two Jayasimhavarmans, Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, and Aṅgījanārayana Pulakesin,—are borrowed from those of the main line. If the names of Nannarāja and his ancestors are identical with or similar to those of the predecessors and successors of Dantidurga, the assumption is quite feasible that the two families were related.

(3) The known chronology of the two families supports the view that Dantidurga was a descendant of Nannarāja. If we assume an average reign of 20 years except where the accession was not from the father to the son, we get the following chronological and genealogical table from the known dates of the two houses.

The house of Nannarāja of Ehelpur

Durgarāja, c. 570–590 A D

Govindarāja, son, c. 590–610 A D

Svāmīkarāja, son, c. 610–630 A D

Nannarāja, son, c. 630–650 A D

Known dates, 631 A D (Tivarkhed grant) 708 A D (?) (Multai plates)

The house of Dantidurga

Dantivarman, a son or nephew of Nannarāja (?), c. 650–670 A D

Indra Pricchakarāja, son, c. 670–690 A D

Govindarāja, son, c. 690–710 A D

Karkka I, son, c. 710–730 A D

Indra II, son, c. 730–745 A D

Dantidurga, son, c. 745–757 A D Known date, 754 A D

Kṛṣṇa I, uncle, c. 757–775 A D Known dates, 758, 768 and 772 A D

N B—The reign of Indra is assumed to be a short one because his younger brother Nanna was alive as late as 793 A D

view, of R G Bhandarkar and C V Vaidya that the Malkhed Rāstrakūṭa house was a Marathi speaking family. There are, however, several cogent reasons to show that the family was a Canarese one.

(1) Canarese was the mother tongue of the family. It was Canarese and not Mahārāṣṭrī literature that flourished at the Malkhed court. Amoghavarṣa I was either himself the author or at least the inspirer of the oldest Canarese work in poetics. The fact that the recently published Juna inscription¹ of Kṛṣṇa III, found in Bundelkhand should be using Canarese language to describe his achievements can also be explained on the assumption that Canarese was the mother tongue of the Rāstrakūṭa family ruling at Malkhed.

(2) The sign manuals of Karkha and Dhruva of the Gujarat Rāstrakūṭa branch in the Naosari plates of 816 A D - and Baroda grants of 812² and 835³ A D are in south Indian proto Canarese characters, whereas the records themselves are to be seen in the usual script of the locality. If the home of the Malkhed Rāstrakūṭa family were in Mahārāṣṭrī, it is difficult to explain how the members sent to rule over southern Gujarat could have been using the proto Canarese script as their mother script. It is true that Karnāṭaka was included in the Rāstrakūṭa dominions before 775 A D but if the family had originally belonged to Mahārāṣṭra its members deputed to rule over southern Gujarat, could not have been using for their sign manuals a script current neither in Gujarat nor in Mahārāṣṭra, but in Karnāṭaka.

The use of Canarese script and language by the members of the family of Dantidurga is not inconsistent with the theory, above advanced that Dantidurga's ancestors were ruling in Berar from c 625 A D. It has been shown above how a number of Rathī families were holding local sway even in Karnāṭaka. Under the Chālukyas of Bīdam, Canarese speaking branches of the main house were established in Gujarat and Telgu speaking Āndhra country. The predecessors of Dantidurga may also have similarly carved out a principality in Marathi speaking Berar from their home in some part of Karnāṭaka.

That the ancestors of Dantidurga were immigrants in Berar would appear almost certain from the epithet 'Laṭṭalūrapuravarā-

¹ *FI*, XIX, p 287

² *JBBRAS*, XX, p 135

³ *JA*, XII, p 157

⁴ *Ibid*, XIV, p 197

durga the founder of the dynasty, were performed in Gujarat, Malva Central India and Northern Mahārāstra, and how the Chālukyas of Badami should have continued to hold the southern portions of their dominions down to the reign of Kīrṇa I. If on the other hand, we assume that they were immigrants in Berar from Lātura, we can understand why they call themselves Lattalūrapurādhīsa or Lattalūrapuravīrgata why they were using proto-Canarese script and Canarese language, how their early exploits were performed in southern Gujarat, Malva, Central India, and why the early Chālukyas continued to hold longest in the southern portions of their dominions. The ancestors of Dantidurga were therefore immigrants from Kārnātaka ruling in Berar at the time of the rise of Indra I and Dantidurga.

The conclusion above arrived at does not eliminate the possibility of the existence of Marathi speaking Rāstrakūta families ruling in Central India or Mahārāstra. We have shown already how a number of Rathī families were ruling in Mahārāstra also, it is therefore quite possible that some of the Rāstrakūta families, e.g. that of Abhimanyu of Mānapura,¹ or Govindarāja of the recently published Naravana plates of Vikramaditya II,² may have been Marathi speaking Rāstrakūta families, which were natives of Mahārāstra. It is only asserted that the Rāstrakūta family, to which Dantidurga belonged, originally hailed from Kārnātaka and was for a long time domiciled in Berar at the time of the rise of Dantidurga.

¹ *E I*, VIII, p 163

² *Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhodha Māndala*, X, p 9

MATERIALS FOR SCULPTURE—THE ĀBHĀSA

P K ACHARYA, I E S , M A , P H D , D L I T T

An important controversy has arisen for a long time with regard to the materials with which images used to be made in the past. As in all other matters, if archæological evidences can be produced and the sculptural remains may be found out, the question whether a certain material was in use for image-making could at once be settled. In the absence of such an evidence references met with in literature must be interpreted in such a manner as would invariably satisfy the context. The philological investigation in a matter like this may at best discover the earlier uses of the term, but if the context be satisfied there could be no reasonable objection in accepting a new meaning of a term which is, in addition, in conformity with the etymology. The seeker of truth would be merely misled by those who refuse to be further enlightened by a new source of information to which they had no access. Dr A K Coomaraswamy doubts¹ the use of the term *ābhāsa* as a material in the *Mānasāra* and cites, in order to support himself, his own translation of the term as used in Śrīkumāra *Silparatna* (LXIV, 2-6) and Gopinatha Rao's interpretation of the same as used in the *Suprabhedāgama*. The learned doctor declares that the term must always mean 'a method' and can never imply 'a sculptural material'. He further declares that the three varieties of *ābhāsa*, namely, the *citrāṅga*, *ardha-citrāṅga*, and *ābhāsa* proper, would imply 'sculpture in the round, reliefs, and painting'. At the outset it is necessary to refer briefly to the non-sculptural uses of the term in the *Mānasāra* itself, as the etymological sense of the term is too well known.

In connection with measurement, the storeyed buildings are divided into the *jāti*, *chanda*, *vikalpa*, and *ābhāsa* classes as they are measured in the units of twenty-four, eighteen, twelve, and six *angulas* respectively.² The unstoreyed pavilions also of certain

¹ *J A O S*, 48, 3, p 251

² *Eka bhūmi vidhūṃ vaksye lakṣaṇam vaksyate 'dhuṇā*
Jātiś chandam vikalpam tu cābhāsam tu caturvidham
Pūrva hastena sam yuktaṃ harṃyam jātir itī smṛtaṃ
Chandam tripada hastena vikalpam syāt tad ardhakam

the *Suprabhedāgama*¹ on which Coomaraswamy and Rao depended appear to have distorted and misquoted the *Mānasāra* of which the *Silparatna* is wholly and the *Āgama* is partly a mere summary. As a matter of fact one or two other later works² also have badly distorted the original reading of the *Mānasāra* by changing *ābhāsa* into *citrābhāsa*. These later summaries of the *Mānasāra* also appear to have failed to correctly interpret the original.

It should be noticed that *cala* (movable) and *acala* (immovable or stationary) of the *Mānasāra* are read in the *Silparatna* as *jangama* and *sthāvara* respectively, which are inaccurately translated by Coomaraswamy by 'animate' and 'inanimate'.³

Ābhāsa is classified into three varieties in all these texts. In the *Mānasāra* they are called *citrāṅga*, *ardha citrāṅga*, and *ābhāsāṅga* or more generally *citra*, *ardha citra*, and *ābhāsa* respectively. The *citra* is that which can be seen through all parts (² fully transparent or full relief), *ardha citra* is that which can be seen through half of its limbs (² half transparent or half relief, or bust), and *ābhāsa* is that which can be seen through a quarter of its limbs (² a quarter or only partly transparent, or representation of head only).

In the *Silparatna* the very same three varieties are called *citra*, *ardha-citra*, and *citrābhāsa* and defined as follows. *citra* is that of which all the limbs are made visible. *ardha citra* is that whereof half can be seen (through) even when attached to a wall and

Citrābhāsam iti khyātam pūrvāṅ śilpa viśāradaḥ

Citram vāpyatha citrārdham mrdā vā sudhāvā vāpi

Dārunā śilayā vātha lohair istakayāpi vā

Tat tad dravyaṅ prakurvīta yathā dr̥ṣṭam yathā śrutam

¹ *Suprabhedāgama*, XXXIV 3-4 (refers to the image of Śvara)

Citram citrārdham evam tu citrābhāsam tathāiva ca

Sarvāvayava sampūrnam dr̥śyam tac citram ucyate

Ardhāvayava samdr̥śyam ardha citram caiva ca

Pate bhittau ca yo (śil)lekhyam citrābhāsam ihocyate

² *Śilodbhavanām* v (b) *imbhānām citrābhāśasya* vā punah

Jaladhivasanam proktam vrsendrasya prakīrtitam

(*Linga Purāna*, part II (Uttara bhāga), Chap 84 v 43)

Indhanāni ca vinyasya palalāni ca vinyaset

Tasmin lo-tāni vinyasya palalāś chādayet punah

Palalābhāśakāḥ paścād brihyabhāśais tusais tathā

Ācchādyādbhir atha suñcec chākhām prajjvālayet punah

(*Vāstuvyā*, ed Ganapati Sastrī, XVI 32-33)

³ *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*, page 52

devotees, images are stated to be of seven kinds as they are made of gold, silver, copper, earth, stone, wood, and *ālekhyā*

The last of these seven may be taken to mean a material, the context makes that more or less imperative and it may be a synonym for *ābhāsa*. The use of *citrābhāsa* in the *Linga-purāna*,¹ and of *palālābhāsa* and *brīhyābhāsa* in the *Vāstuvidyā*² will also lend further support to *ābhāsa* having been used in the *Mānasāra* in connection with sculpture not as a method but as a 'material' with which images were made

Lastly, what the Chinese traveller I tsing says about the nine materials with which people made images during his visit (in 671-695 A D) can be taken to be as good an evidence as an archaeological find

'Again, when the people make images and *caityas* which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks, and stone, or when they heap up *snowy sand*, they put in images or *caityas* two kinds of *sarīras* (relics)'³

In the *Agni purāna* also seven materials are stated to be used for image making although nine are actually mentioned, namely, terracotta, wood, metals (iron), precious stone, ordinary stone, earth, *moon-white substance* (silver?), bell-metal, and sandalwood⁴. This 'moon white substance' and I-tsing's 'snowy sand' appear to be the same and may be a synonym of *ābhāsa*

The *snowy sand*, *moon white substance*, *ālekhyā* and other derivatives from the root *likh*, and *ābhāsa* appear to be identical and

¹ Śilodbhavānām v(b)imbānām citrābhāsaḥ vā punah

Jaladhivāsanam proktam vrisendrasya prakīrtitam

[*Linga Purāna*, Part II (Uttara bhāga), Chap 48, v 43]

² Indhanāni ca vinyasya palālāni ca vinyaset

Tasmin loṣṭāni vinyasya palalāś chādavet punah

Palālābhāsakaḥ paścād brīhyābhāsaḥ tuḥś tathā

Ācchādyādbhir aha siñccc chhākham prajvālayet punah

(*Vāstuvidyā*, ed Ganapati Sastri, XVI 32 33)

³ Takakusu's translation of I tsing's work,

'Record of the Buddhist Religion', p 150

Cf V S Smith, Ind Ant XXXIII, 175

⁴ Mrnmayī dāru ghatitā lohajā ratnajā tathā ||

Sailajā gandhajā caiva kaumudī saptadhā smrtā ||

Kāinsamayī gandhajā caiva mrnmayī pratimā tathā ||

(*Agni Purāna*, Chap 43, v 9 10)

of metals, which should be used at the joints of images made of wood or stone, but the whole image also may be made of gold, copper terra cotta, stone, wood, and powdered brick ¹

In the *Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra* the effect of making images with different materials is specified. One would reside in heaven for a *kalpa* (432 million years) by making images with earth (terra cotta), ten times that successively by making images with wood, stone, and metals respectively. Similarly with regard to draught animals or vehicles also the successive effect would be ten times of the preceding when they are made of earth (terra cotta), wood, stone, brass, bell metal, and copper, etc ²

To which heaven and for how many million years the image made of *ābhāsa* may lead the artists, archæologists, and others who are convinced of its existence as a material and identification with glass or some such material must be left to the judgment of the reader. The writer requests the learned members of the Sixth Oriental Conference to help him with their considered opinion and thus expedite the publication of the Text and English translation of the *Mānasāra* with measured drawings and illustrative sketches

¹ Svarṇādī lauha bimbe ca deha garbham na kṛāyēt ||

Kāsthā pāsāṇa bimbe ca yat sandhau vidhir ucyate ||

Yat bimbe ca kṛte dravyam svarṇam tāmram tu mṛṇmaye ||

Śaile kāsthe istikā cūṛṇam bimbam tatra pracakṣate ||

(*Bimbamāna*, British Museum, Ms 1, 558, 5292, v 4, 6,
Ms 2, 5291, 559, v 3)

² Mṛṇmaye pratī (b)imbe tu kalpa yutam divi

Dāru pāsāṇa dhātūnām kramād daśa gunādhikam

Mṛṇmaye vāhane datte yat phalam jīvate bhuvi

Dāruje tad daśa gunam śīlaje tad daśādhikam

Rittika kāmśa tāmṛādī mṛṇmate deva vāhane

Datte phalam āpnoti kramāt śata gunādhikam

(*Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, XIII, 22, 30, 31)

‘EARLY MUSLIM VISITORS OF EUROPE FROM INDIA’

A F M ABDUL KADIR,
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Arabia, the cradle of Islam, was inhabited by a branch of the Semite family which was intensely adventurous and its members were very fond of travelling in far and distant countries. The connection of the Arab merchants with the Malabar coast and with the islands of the eastern Archipelago is of an age-long standing. They took delight in long journeys pursued in quest of profit in trade, or for the satisfaction of their innate desire to see the wide world. Nor, did they live a settled life within their own peninsula and the caravan life was the only life which appealed to their inquisitive minds. Their poetry, to which they devoted so much of their time and energy, was a child that was born, nourished and nurtured during centuries of travels in the peninsula and countries around it. (Holy *Qurān*, Chapter CVI)

This love for travels was further cemented by the religion which sanctified journey that was taken in order to acquire knowledge or to impart it. The burning desire to preach the truth of Islam to the nations of the world also contributed to a large measure to strengthen this passion for travels in them. The QURANIC injunction on this point is very clear, ‘Say travel in the earth and see how he makes the first creation—and Allah create the latter creation’ (2⁹) It is for this reason that we find a galaxy of travellers who undertook long journeys during the very early period of the history of Islam. Abu Ayyub Ansari, a companion of the Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) went so far as Constantinople. His shrine still exists there and it is an object of adoration for all¹. Later on, when the banner of the Arabs was hoisted in distant countries, men poured forth into Medina from all parts of the world, and there they acquired knowledge about Islamic Laws and Religion. Yahya Bn Yahya came to study under Malick from Andalusia, while Muhammad Bn Ismail from Bukhara, rummaged every creek and corner of the then Islamic world in order to gather materials for his

some spirits when they granted concessions and trade facilities to the Europeans who came to their Court

Since the English, of all European nations, came, generally in closer touch with the Muslim rulers and inhabitants of India, they roused greater interest on the part of the Indians for a study of their language, customs and manners. This desire for a closer study of the English character must have, naturally, encouraged those among the Indians who were not averse to leading the life of a traveller to study at close quarters, and glean first hand information about the nation that had so slowly but successfully grafted itself on the country and the government of Hindustan. It is, however, regrettable that very early records do not throw sufficient light on the subject, but, at the same time it is a matter of surprise, as we shall see later on, that some of the materials that are available can give us correct and authentic accounts of those Indians who made journeys to England or Europe towards the middle of the 18th century and a little downwards. The purpose of these few pages is to give an account of some early Muslim visitors of Europe, especially England, from India. It is amazing indeed to find that the commonly accepted notion about this subject is that 'Raja Ram Mohan Roy' was the first educated and eminent Indian who had gone to England. As we shall progress we shall see that the assertion so naively made cannot be allowed to go unchallenged. At any rate, it will have to be accepted with a considerable amount of reservation.

Who, among the Indian Muslims, was first to go to Europe is a question that cannot be answered with precision. But, Abu Talib, the author of *Hadiqatul Aflak*, who is also one of those travellers who visited Europe towards the close of the 18th century, mentions two of his friends who, presumably, took the voyage at a comparatively early date. First among them is Muhammad Qubad Beg. The date of his voyage and the period which he spent over it are, however, not given, but, under a biographical sketch of the poet Ashobe, he declares him to be the poet's maternal grandfather who served as a Diwan in the Deccan towards the last days of Aurangzib. The said writer also adds that Qubad was not only a scholar of Islamic literature but also of Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek and that the last two languages he learnt during his travels in Europe. Muhammad Qubad Beg must, therefore, be regarded the first Indian

belonged to the village of Pajnore in the District of Nadya. His early life was spent in the services rendered to the Nizamate of Bengal during the reigns of Nuwwab Ja'far Ali Khan and Quasim Ali Khan. He had also occasions to meet with Shah Alam and take part in the transaction that took place between the Moghal Emperor and the English, on the one hand, and the Marathas and the English, on the other. He had visited Northern India and had helped the English in bringing to a successful issue their negotiations with the Marathas at Poona. Nor, has he left us in doubt about his purpose for a visit to Europe and especially England, and, in a scholarly monograph, written in Persian, the Court language in India at that time, he has left not only a record of the voyage but also has given us a document of great historical value. Incidentally a further light is thrown on the character of Lord Clive who had directed the transactions between the East India Company and the Emperor of Hindustan.

In his book, *Shigarf-Nama-i-Wilayat*, the record of his voyage to England, It'isamuddin says that he was present in the Court of Shah Alam, at Allahabad, when through the negotiation of Shuja'uddaula and Lord Clive the grant of Diwan of Behar, Bengal, and Orissa was made to the East India Company. But, as it appears from the said book (pp 10-11), the grant was made on some moral understanding between the two contracting parties. Besides paying a tribute of 26 lakhs annually, the English had given an assurance to Shah Alam that they would help him in strengthening his position as the Emperor of Hindustan by rendering military services. This stipulation might not have been embodied in the royal warrant for the grant of Diwanee, but it had the acceptance of all concerned. As military operations in support of the Emperor would have entangled the Company in political struggles in the country and prejudiced their position as traders, Lord Clive wished to have a sanction for this new phase of their activities in India from the King of England and the Parliament. Shah Alam, in order to assist Lord Clive in securing the desired sanction, deputed Nuwwab Munruddaula and Raja Shitab Rai, his representatives in Bengal and Behar respectively, to accompany Lord Clive to Calcutta and to draft a letter on his behalf to King George the third of England asking for the formal sanction of the preferred help. The letter was drafted in a garden at Dam Dam and in the presence of General

hand and the Nawab of Bengal, on the other. After giving a brief history of the trade relations of the European traders of various denominations, with Bengal, he describes the three main sources of constant friction between the Europeans and the ruling power —

(1) The Europeans had, in direct contravention of the general orders issued from the Imperial Court at Delhi, to their representatives in Bengal, from time to time, built and were insisting on building forts and defences of such description as would be required by a ruling power in a country and not by mere traders. Orders from Delhi were of a peremptory nature and in some cases the local representatives were asked to demolish such unlicensed buildings which were not meant for the purpose of carrying on peaceful trade in the country.

(2) European settlers in their various colonies, had built churches and were a source of disturbance to the public by ringing their church bells at the appointed time for Muslim prayers. Often this slight act of negligence on the part of Europeans became a positive source for the disturbance of peace in the country. Standing as we do on a distance from those times we may not be inclined to attach much importance to this cause of disturbance, as described by the author of the *Shigarf Nama*, but looking at the temper of the age and also making due allowance for the anxiety of those who were responsible for the maintenance of Law and Order in the country we may not be disinclined to agree with the author that the Europeans had given to the general Muslim public a cause for complaint before the authorities.

(3) European settlers and traders used to entice away young children, boys and girls, from their parental roofs and sell them in far off distant lands or forcibly convert them into Christianity. A colony of such unhappy and wretched men and women who were torn away from their homes in Bengal was found by the author during his voyage on an African coast. This complaint was a chronic one. During his reign Shah Jahan was compelled to take drastic action. A detailed account of the action against the settlement at Hughli and its causes are given in the *Badshahnama* of Abdul Hamid Lahori.

Although the questions discussed by the author of *Shigarfnama-i-Hidayat* in the early part of his book are not connected very intimately with the subject matter of his work, yet they throw a flood of light on the contemporary events. These digressions of the author

however, he knew at what a great cost England had acquired that freedom '.

Conservative as I'tisamuddin was, the social life of England does not seem to have had much attraction for him. He was very much abstemious about his food. He had taken with him a servant, Md Muqsud by name, who used to be in the charge of his kitchen. On one occasion, when he had to go out of his place for several days, he lived only on fruit syrup. He was about to collapse for want of food, when he was helped by Captain Swinton in preparing some chicken broth and rice. On this occasion, too, he was careful to kill the bird himself. As a student of the humanities, however, he could not ignore the study of this important feature of English life. And he did it. Besides attending invitations that came to him through Captain Swinton and his friends, he visited the play houses, and the story of a plot that was staged as given by him, shows that he was present on an occasion when *King Lear* was played. He visited circus houses and enjoyed the display of acrobatic feats. He also witnessed the gay pageant on Lord Mayor's day. He spent sufficient time in Edinburgh. His remarks on the industrious and stingy Scotch are suggestive of a close study. At Oxford he must have mixed with the members of the University freely as we find him giving a detailed account of the University, its buildings, the observatory and the Bodleian Library. On one occasion some important document in Persian was brought to him for deciphering doubtful words. Rural and Agricultural England too have not escaped his careful observations. The smiling fields and beautiful orchards have, indeed, drawn forth many appreciative remarks from the author. He has given a very accurate statement of the English produce of cereals, fruits, vegetables, the flora and the fauna. He took part in hunting games and shooting birds and fowls.

English industrial life was just passing through a great revolution when I'tisamuddin went to England. There was, as yet, not much visible sign of the coming change. The preliminaries were there. I'tisamuddin has not failed to observe them. He has described how some mills were executing a work within a short time that would take a labourer in India weeks or months to perform. English shops and their system of taking articles to the market and placing them in the hands of the consumers have also elicited from him the praise due to the organisers of world's greatest industrial

he mixed. He was friend of Sir Elijah Impi and refers to the Impi family in laudible terms. He wields a very facile pen and gives detailed accounts of buildings, towers, baths, play-houses, bridges, and churches all over the countries of his visit. He was of a very sociable nature and is always ready with 'a woeful ballad to the eye-brow' of every lady in England he came across. The mode of life among the English people has elicited every word of praise from him. English freedom is a subject of special discourse in the book, and, as for the liberty enjoyed by English women he accords to it his fullest support. He gives minute information on the English home life. The division of time for work and rest, the way of serving the meals in the families, maintaining regularity of time in going to bed and leaving it and the music played by the ladies at home all have been mentioned by Abu Talib in his book. He left England in 1217 A H (1839 A D) and passed over to France. At Paris he led the life of a true Parisian. From France he went over to other countries like Geneva and some German towns. From the last named place he came over to Italy. The capital of Italy seems to have captivated his heart by its fine musical halls. He devotes a special passage on the superiority of Italian music to any other European music. He seems to have observed the Italian life also very keenly. He mentions the curious practice of polyandry that was recognised in Rome at that time as a social institution. He says — 'The most wonderful thing is this that high class ladies, all over Rome, rather in some parts of France too, are in the habit of having two husbands openly. The second husband is meant for sensuous enjoyment and for the purpose of passing time with a happy mind. The time of each of the two husbands throughout the days and night with the common wife is divided. The children and the house and the maintenance of the wife are the charge of the principal husband, while the other is meant to attend to the wish and pleasure of the lady.' He returned to Calcutta in 1218 A H, visiting on his way back to India, Malta, Constantinople and some towns of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia.

The last among this group of early Muslim visitors of Europe from India is Yousuf Khan, better known by the name of Kammal posh. He was at first a wandering Fakir, then a soldier and then a traveller. He was born in Hyderabad Deccan and at first he started on a tour in the Indian towns. He had visited the principal cities of

and churches were visited by him first. He mentions in his book all places of interest to which he went. He was, however, very much pleased when he saw a railway train on the London suburban line. The sight of a railway train, for the first time in his life, threw him in a state of ecstasy. He has given a good description of the railway line, the engine and the carriage, and he enjoyed a journey for several miles in the suburb. Yousuf Khan spent most of his time in enlarging the circle of his friends among English men and women with whom he became very soon familiar and from whom there was no dearth of invitations. A good description of Queen Victoria's accession procession to the Guild Hall is to be found in his book. As a soldier he was also interested in seeing the arsenal and in observing the great military equipment of England for which he has nothing but every word of praise. For a short while he left London and went over to France.

In France Yousuf Khan visited Bologna, Paris, and Amien. He also went to Versailles. The notable fact which he mentions is this that he found the shops all over the country amply provided with Cashmere Shawls. The gardens of France pleased him very much. The historic buildings erected by the French Monarchs, their mausoleum and palaces were all visited. The rural life of France has been observed by him very keenly. In the matter of building roads he, however, gives preference to England.

Yousuf Khan left England on the 18th of January, 1838. On his return from England he saw some more countries of Europe in the south. Some time he spent in the Portuguese capital of Lisbon. From Lisbon he passed on to coastal towns of Spain. Having hurriedly seen Gibraltar and Malta, he came over to Alexandria and Cairo where he had the opportunity to observe the state of affairs under Mohamed Ali's strong rule. He has described the slave market in Cairo.

From the last named place he went over to the Suez to make a short tour in the Sinai peninsula, where he visited many sacred places of religious and historic interest. After crossing the peninsula he took a ship in some parts of the Red Sea and reached back to India towards the close of 1838.

Yousuf Khan may not have been appointed to a political mission to England like I'tisamuddin, he may not be a *litterateur* like the author of *Masir-i-Talibi*, but he was gifted with a strong common

ARMENIA AND INDIA

MESROOB J SETH, M R A S

Armenians, the enterprising sons of a noble but ill-fated fatherland, have, from time immemorial, been trading with India by the overland route, *via* Persia and Afghanistan, long before the advent of any European traders into the country. It will not be possible, in this brief paper, to say much about the commercial pursuits of the Armenians in India, suffice it to say that by their probity and integrity, to say nothing of their commercial acumen they always found favour in the eyes of the Hindu and the Mohammedan rulers of the land from the days of Mar Thomas, the Armenian merchant who landed on the Malabar coast in 780 A D (when one Sheo Ram was the Hindu King of Cranganore) to the glorious reign of Akbar the Great, who was a great patron of the Armenians, some of whom held high offices at his court, the Chief Justice (Mir Adl) Khwajah Mir Abdul-Hai, being an Armenian.

Mirza Zul-Qurnain, a grandee of the Mogul Court during the reigns of Akbar, Jehangeer and Shah Jehan, was likewise an Armenian, being a grandson of Abdul-Hai the Armenian, according to Jehangeer in his famous 'Tuzak-i-Jehangeeri'. In the paper which I read before the 'Indian Historical Records Commission' at Lucknow, in December, 1926, on 'Hindoos in Armenia 150 years before Christ,' I stated that Armenians had been connected with India for over 2,000 years being the *first* foreign traders to come to this country by the overland route. According to Armenian historians, two Hindu princes of Kanauj fled the country for having conspired against Dinakspal, their king, in the year 149 B C and found an asylum, with their adherents and followers, in far off Armenia where they were accorded a welcome worthy of their princely dignity by the Armenian King Valarsaces of the Arsacidæ dynasty which ruled in Armenia from 149 B C to 428 A D.

But it may be asked, and quite rightly too, why did these two fugitive Indian princes seek refuge in far-off Armenia when they could have very easily fled to Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, Tartary, Afghanistan or even Persia? The reason is not far to seek. They were already acquainted with the Armenian merchants whom they

Of Ceylon, the 5th century Armenian geographer says that 'Tabrobane, the largest of all islands, extends in length 1 100 miles and in breadth 510 miles, and has other small islands around it about 1,372 in number. It contains also many mountains and rivers and is inhabited by 12 tribes. There are found gold, silver, precious stones, aromatic herbs and also elephants and tigers. The men of this island adorn their heads with the hair of the females. It is said this was the place where Satan fell.'

It may be mentioned that the Armenian geographer and historian of the 5th century never visited India and he must have therefore heard accounts of that distant country from the Armenian merchants who had been trading with India, for in his detailed list of the various Indian spices, he even gives the prices, per Indian maund and he could only have obtained such first-hand information from persons who had been engaged in the trade of those commodities in India and were conversant with the names and the prices of the different spices which India produced then.

For the information of historical students, I may mention that the '*History of Armenia*' by Moses of Khorene, with his '*Compendium of Geography*' in ancient Armenian, from which the above extracts are taken, was translated into Latin by two English Armenists, George and William Whiston, and printed by them, with the Armenian text, at London in 1736, under the title '*Moses Chorenensis Historiæ Armeniacæ*'. A copy of this exceedingly rare publication—the first Armenian book that was printed in England—is to be seen amongst my Armenian exhibits at the Historical Exhibition of the 'Indian Historical Records Commission' at the Patna Museum.

For fuller information regarding the Armenian Colonists in this country, see my '*History of the Armenians in India*' and the various Papers read by me before the 'Indian Historical Records Commission' at Lahore, Lucknow, Rangoon, Nagpur, Gwalior and at Patna.

RAGHU'S LINE OF CONQUEST ALONG INDIA'S NORTHERN BORDER

PROFESSOR JAY CHANDRA VIDYALANKAR

Despite the labours and the ingenuity which modern scholarship has liberally bestowed upon the study of Kāldāsa and his works the geography of the countries along the northern border of India, which the great poet makes Raghu march through in course of his 'conquest of quarters' remains, with the exception of two items, still unexplained. An attempt is made in the following pages to locate all the items in that march which have as yet baffled identification, and trace the whole route of Raghu along India's northern border. The new elucidation has also led to a new appreciation of the ideas and ideals of Kāldāsa disclosed in its light.

I The Conception of the North

After conquering the East and the South, Raghu turned towards the West, where having subdued the Trikūta country, he started via the land-route on the conquest of the Pārasikas. Then he went to the North, where his first encounter was against the Hūnas on the Oxus. So far we have no difficulty, but we must have, if possible, a clear idea where the boundaries of the West and the North met. The East, the South, the West and the North are all with reference to the Madhyadeśa. Rājasekhara informs us that by the West was meant the country to the west of Devasabhā and by the North that to the north of Prthūdaka.¹ Prthūdaka is the modern Pehowa (Dt. Karnāl) on the Saraswatī, situated almost exactly on lat 30° N. Now I interpret these boundary-marks thus: all the countries to the north of the latitude of Pehowa, i.e. 30° N, were included in the North, while similarly these to the west of the longitude of Devasabhā if they were not north of lat 30° N were included in the West. I cannot find where Devasabhā was, but on the principle mentioned above I presume it was somewhere on the longitude of Adarsana or Vinaśana, the place where the Saraswatī disappears in the desert, and which is the traditional

¹ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 94

be somewhere in Tibet, while Sir George Grierson indicated long ago that it must be an Iranian country ⁴ If someone had taken up the indication of Sir George Grierson and worked it up, the Kāmboja country would perhaps have been rightly identified long ago, but, instead of that, scholars have so far generally interpreted it vaguely as the eastern Afghanistan Now where in the eastern Afghanistan shall we locate it definitely? Does it represent the modern Kafiristan? It cannot, as that is the ancient Kapisa, the Ki-pin of the Chinese, and not Kāmboja Then Lamghan? ⁵ No, for that is Lanipāka Then Ningrahar? But that again is the ancient Nagara-hāra Then the Pathan-country from Afridi Tirah to the Zhab valley? That also was the Paktha-country proper and not Kāmboja. Shall we then turn towards the north-east, and put our finger on Wakhan? But Wakhan is not Afghanistan proper, and I do not think when anybody equates Kāmboja with the eastern Afghanistan he means Wakhan by it So the Kāmboja country flies from us like a will-o'-the-wisp when we try to catch it definitely in any part of the eastern Afghanistan

Dr Ray Chaudhuri has, to his own satisfaction, set an end to this indefiniteness by equating it with the modern Chhibhāl country of the north Panjab, and Dr Bhandarkar has accepted that unfortunate identification ⁶ made on the basis of a doubtful explanation of a vague reference in the Mahābhārata VIII, 4, 5 It reads thus

कर्ण राजपुर गत्वा काम्बोजा निर्जितास्त्वया ।

and in the opinion of the two eminent scholars, its Rājapura is no other place but the modern Rajauri in the Chhibhāl country to the south of Kashmir Dr Ray Chaudhuri is satisfied that that is the Kāmboja of the epics and the Kāmboja Mahājanapada of the early Buddhist literature, while Dr Bhandarkar has accepted it as the Kambujya or the Kāmboja of the inscriptions of Darius and Asoka But the modern Chhibhāl has always been called Abhisāra or Dārvābhisāra in ancient Indian documents, and I am confident there is not an iota of evidence to equate Abhisāra with Kāmboja In the

⁴ Smith—*EHI* 3, p 184 n and *J R A S*, 1911, p 802

⁵ It is often spelt Laghman, but Lamghan is the local pronunciation, and it also tallies with its ancient form, Lampāka

⁶ *Political History of Ancient India*, pp 94-95,—‘*Asola*’ (Carmichael Lectures, 1923), p 31

History in Hindi, hereafter styled the *Rūparekhā*) to find out the real Kāmboja country, and Kalhana has been my chief guide since then until, I think, I finally succeeded in the attempt recently Kalhana's description of Lalitāditya's digvijaya is for the most part mythical, but when he writes of the hill countries in the neighbourhood of his own land his details are such that seem to have been derived from historical facts. I intend to show on some other occasion that the whole of Lalitāditya's digvijaya was confined to the hills, that his war against the king of Kanauj was for the sake of the Himalayan districts to the south east of Kashmir, and that the Kāli river to which he finally extended his frontier at the expense of Kanauj empire was not the rivulet of that name in the plains which could not be a natural frontier but the Kāli on the border of the modern state of Nepal. However that may be, my present point is only that Kalhana's description of Lalitāditya's northern conquests is generally based on facts, and that is exactly what Sir A. Stein has said.⁹

Now in that description¹⁰ the people and countries of the North are mentioned in the following order: the Kāmbojas, the Tuḥkhāras, the king Mummuni, the Bhauttas, the Daradas, Prāgyotisapura, the Bālukāmbhudhi (sand ocean), Strī Rājya and the Uttara Kuruś. Of these, Kāmboja, Strī-Rājya and the northern Kuruś are the three countries¹¹ which have not been identified definitely, and the kingdom of Mummuni has only vaguely been inferred. Now Kāmboja

⁹ Introduction to the translation of *Rājataranginī*, p. 90

¹⁰ IV, 163-176

¹¹ Of the three, Kāmboja is now identified *infra*, for the Uttara Kuruś see Prof. S. Kṛṣṇaswami Aiyangar's paper, the Hun Problem in *Ind. An.*, 1919, pp. 65 ff. Strī Rājya also is not mythical, Kalhana mentions a detail about it (*ibid.*, 135) from which it would seem to have been a real country. But the conclusive evidence comes from Vātsyāyana's *Kāma Sūtra*, which tells of a custom 'गोयूयिकम्' of Strī Rājya which could not have been known except through frequent communication and very close familiarity with the country. From what my honoured friend Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Triṭīṭhācārya of the Vidyalankāra College, Kelaniya, Ceylon, who has recently returned from Tibet after a stay and travels extending over an year and half in that country where he was busy with the first hand study of Kan gyur and Tan gyur and in securing till now unknown and rare Tibetan MSS. and works of art, told me about the Tibetans' mode of sleeping, it would seem that गोयूयिकम् is nothing but a common habit of theirs. It is a most natural thing amongst a

the ancient Kāraskara country The river, the town and the district of Chitral still bear the optional name, Kāshkār The celebration of the -s- can easily be explained through the influence of the r- which might have disappeared later Kāraskara is mentioned in the list of those countries a visit to which makes a Ma-dhyadhesa brahmin liable to prāyascitta¹² and that is exactly what we might expect about a country of the north-western border

There were thus serious doubts about my first proposal to equate Chitral with Kāmboja Recently while finally revising the introductory section of the *Rūparekhā* my attention was turned to that speech, whose shade differentiates Khowār from its kindred Dardic So far, although considering Afghanistan to have been a province of India throughout its history, I had taken the territory of the Ghalchā languages as lying beyond India's traditional borders But then it suddenly occurred to me that if we equate the Ghalchā-territory with Kāmboja, it could satisfy all the requirements of the famous ancient janapada The Ghalchā-territory is right to the north of Kashmir, and while only a corner of the Khowār-territory abutted upon Tukhāra, the whole western border line of the Ghalchā-territory runs along the eastern border of that country

Fully confident in my mind that it was the ancient Kāmboja—I wanted to see if the linguistic detail mentioned about it by Yāskā and Patañjali munis had left any trace of it And to my most agreeable surprise I found that Yāska's observation श्वतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेषु दृश्यते,¹³ is still true about the Ghalchā-territory after a lapse of at least twenty-five centuries! In the small passages given by Sir G Grierson as specimens of the Ghalchā speech, all dialects except Wakhi employ the same root श्वति for the verb, to go In Shighni sut=went (p 468),¹⁴ in Sarikali set=to go (p 473), sūt=went (p 474) and som=I will go (p 476), in Zebaki, Sanglichî or Ishkashimî shud=went (p 500) in Munjāni or Mungi shia=to go, and in Yudgha shui=went (p 524) No more conclusive proof will, I hope, be asked for this identification now

According to Sir G Grierson, the speech of Badakhshan also was Ghalchā till about three centuries ago, when it was supplanted by a

¹² Vide, e g *Bodhāyana Dharma Sūtra* 1 1 29 30

¹³ II, 1, 3, 4

¹⁴ This and the following references are to the *Linguistic Survey of India*, X

Let us now consider the particular passage Dr Ray Chaudhuri has relied upon. Either it is to be interpreted to imply that the way to Kāmboja was via Rājapura, or, as I suggest, Rājapura here stands for Rājagṛha, the little Rājagṛha city the capital of Baetria in Yuan Chwang's time.¹⁸ It might have been so named after the first Rājagṛha i.e. not the Rājagṛha Girivraja of the Migadhas, but that of the Kekayas, identified by Cunningham with the modern Girjhāḥ on the Jhelum.¹⁹ The reason why the Nepalese tradition places Kāmboja in Tibet is also evident now. To one looking from Nepal, the Pamirs would naturally seem to be an extension of Tibet. They border on Tibet.

In the passage of the Raghuvaṃśa we are considering the Kāmboja country is mentioned just after that of the Hūnas, i.e. the doab of the Vaksh and the Aksu. Now the very river Aksu may roughly be called the northern boundary of the Ghalehā speech to-day. So the northern border of Kāmboja quite abutted on that of the Hūna country, and the identification of the two countries are supported by each other. And we may be pretty sure that like the southern, western and northern borders, the eastern border line of Kāmboja was also identical with that of the Ghalehā speech to-day. And that boundary is the river Sita (Yarkand).

III The headquarters of the Ganges

It was when I noticed this point that an idea occurred to me which solved the most serious difficulty that confronts us on our way as we proceed further to the next step. After conquering the Kāmbojas Raghu's army ascended the Himalayas where the breeze of the Ganges was felt by them. How could they have gone in one leap from the Kāmboja country to the head of the Ganges? It has been the most perplexing question throughout this passage. Yet it is explained now in a very easy manner. For was not there, in the Himalayas, according to the belief of the ancients, a central Anavatapta lake from which the Sita flowed north the Ganges east, the Indus south and the Oxus west?²⁰ All that Raghu had to do was to

¹⁸ Watters, I, 105

¹⁹ *Ramāyana* I, lxxv, 35-41, II, lxxi, 1 and lxxii, 1. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 164

²⁰ Watters—*Yuan Chuang*, I, pp. 32-35

द्वीपो ह्युपनिविष्टोऽयं खेचैरनेषु नित्यम् ।

पूर्वे किराता ह्यस्यान्ते पश्चिमे यवना स्मृता ॥²²

The Sapta-Kausikī country or the eastern-most part of the state of Nepal still bears the name Kirāta. It just touches that eastern border of India, i.e. Coochbehar, Assam, and the Bengal frontier, which according to the Purānas is the country of the Kirātas. Now these Kirātas of the east represent the various Tibeto-Burman tribes included in the North-Assam branch and the Lohitic or Assam-Burmese branch of that race according to the modern classification. And we see Kālidāsa here applying the same name Kirāta to tribes belonging to the third great branch of that race, the Tibeto-Himalayan. Thus all the three branches of the Tibeto-Burman race were called Kirātas, which word therefore is the exact equivalent of our modern Tibeto-Burman. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that the ancient Indians recognised the affinity of the ancestors of the Tibetans and the Burmans. Anybody who compares the first ten numerals of the two languages may begin to perceive that

The Kirātas of Kālidāsa were positively the Tibetans of Ladakh, Zaskar and Rupshu, and not those of Baltistan or Bolor, for they are mentioned after and not before the Ganges, which was to the east of Karakoram pass. Moreover the Tibetans had not occupied Bolor by Kālidāsa's time. That Kirāta wedge between the Indian territories of the Daradas and the Kāmbojas dates from the beginning of the early eighth century A.C.—just the time of the Arab wedge's penetration into Sind—when Indian kings like Lahtāditya and Yasovarman, alarmed at their aggression, sought the alliance of the Chinese whose interests in Kan-su and the Chinese Turkestan and in the great highway connecting China with the West which passed through them, were equally threatened by the Tibetans' westward advance.

V The Utsava-Sanketas and the Kinnaras

Raghu's next encounter was against the mountaineer ganas, the Utsava Sanketas and the Kinnaras. Having defeated them and made the Kinnaras sing the stories of his victorious arms, he descended from the Himalayas without having gone to the Kailāsa mountain. The last information is important. In the northern

Munda, while still retained by one member of the race, is much older in Indian literature than the latter, and is more popularly known. Having made this proposal I felt some curiosity if the name was ever used in ancient India in a generic sense, and in this connection found at least one instance suggesting that it might have been. The part of the Bay of Bengal from the gulf of Martaban to the strait of Malacca is called Sinus Sabaricus by Ptolemy, while we have the Indian Sābara country and the river Sābari on the borders of Orissa and Andhra, exactly facing it. The coast of the Sinus Sabaricus was inhabited by Mons or Talaungs of the Mon Khmer branch of the great Austric family, while the Indian Sābaras belong to the Munda branch of the same race. If the name Sābara pertained to units belonging to both these branches, its derivative Sābara may now be used to denote not only the Mundas, but the whole of the Austro Asiatic sub-family. Howsoever that may be, what I wanted to derive at present is simply that the affinity of some units of the Austro-Asiatic race living at great distance from one another, could have been perceived by and known to our ancestors, and therefore we should take such words as Yaksa generally to imply definite people of that race and not simply goblins. Of course, primarily they were names of human races, and their later popular sense was only secondary.

And if the Yaksas were an Austro Asiatic people, the Kinnaras were so. The same relation is proved by modern philology, which shows that they are related to each other and different from the Kirātas though their close neighbours. This identification of the Kinnara country is further supported by a passage of *Therī Apadāna*, relating to the life of the Therī Sāma in a previous birth, when she was a Kinnari in the epoch of the Buddha Vipassī, which begins

चन्द्रभागा नदी तीरे चक्षुषि किन्नरी तदा ।²³

As to the Utsava-Sanketas, their association with the Kinnaras shows that they were the ancestors of modern speakers of Manchātī, Chamba Lāhulī, Bunān, Rangloī and Kanāshī, small dialects belonging to the same group and neighbourhood as Kanauri, and lying between Kanauri and the Kirāta district of Rupshu.

²³ Quoted in *Paramatthadīpanī*, Dhammapāla's commentary on the *Therī-gāthā*, XXIX (P T S ed., pp. 45-46)

tradition I mentioned this fact to Mr K P Jayaswal, whom I regard as my *guru*, early in 1929, when I also noted it in my MS of the *Rūpareḥā*. Now the discovery of the real Kāmboja has brought the boundary-line of the Mauryas at least so far as the river Sita, from which down to Khotan city it is some four days' easy ride in plain country which the valley of the Sita opens into. Besides, while we know that Nābhaka country was included in Asoka's territories, we cannot find it anywhere to the south of the Himālayas, while we have an indication to look for it somewhere in Serindia. Should we not consider Asoka's connection with Khotan as almost established now?

VII Digression B—Arjuna's Conquest of the North The Rsikas or Yue chi mentioned in the Mahābhārata

Having traced the route of Raghu's northern conquests I made an attempt on those of Arjuna, as described in the Mahābhārata, with the result that I found out the Rsikas or the great Yue chi there in their original home.

Arjuna's conquest of the North forms the subject of the first three chapters of the Dīgviṣayaparvan, being chapters XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX of the Sabhāparvan, each chapter describing one separate march in one direction. We are introduced to the first march thus

ययौ तदा वशे कर्तुमुदीचीं पाण्डुनन्दन ।

XXVII, 8

The remaining verses of the first chapter describe his conquests beginning from 'Kulnga viṣaya' (9)³² and ending at Prāgyjotisa (16-18). 'Kulnga' is clearly a mistake for Kulinda,³³ the Kūlindrīne of Ptolemy, i.e. the hilly region from the Beas to the Tons, the country of the Kunindas of the coins. They lived due north of the Pāndava kingdom of Delhi, in its immediate neighbourhood. The countries intervening between Kulinda-viṣaya and Prāgyjotisa seem to have been only three. They were Sālvapura of the Sālva rāja (10), Dyumatsena by name (11), Kata desa where king Sunābha ruled (12), and Sākaladvīpa a large territory as it consisted of seven dvīpas or doabs ruled by many kings (14). I cannot identify any

³² Figures in brackets indicate Nos. of verses

³³ Cf. Pārgiter's note, *Mark, P*, p. 316

On his way to Kāsmīr and Lohita, the Trigartas or the modern Kangra, Dārvas or the modern Dugar, the country of the Dogras, and Kokanadas submitted themselves (18), but Abhisārī or the modern Chhibhāl, the district around Rajauri and Poonch, and Uragā, evidently a mistake for Urasā, the modern Hazara, had to be conquered (19) and Simhapura or the capital of the Salt range had to be overtaken with great force (20). These were all districts adjoining Kāsmīra to east, south and west. Further we are told of the conquest of Sumha and Cola (21) which seems to be a clear mistake. I cannot definitely say what Lohita means, but most probably Afghanistan or Roh³⁵ is meant by it, for in the next verse (22) we are taken to Bālhika or Bactria, the direct route to which lay through it. But this interpretation is not without a difficulty, for Lohas are again mentioned (25) north east-wards after Kāmbhojas. At present I cannot say who these later Lohas were.

From Bāhhika Arjuna turns east towards the Daradas and the Kāmbhojas (23). Then, we are told in very clear terms that he conquered those Dasyus who lived in the east-north quarter and in forest (24). These were the Lohas, the Parama (i.e. the distant) Kāmbhojas and the Rśikas (25). A very fierce battle was fought in the country of the Rśikas (26) after which they submitted and Arjuna brought as trophy from their country—eight horses of the complexion of a parrot's belly (शुक्रोदरसम्पन्) (27). Having thus conquered the whole of Himavat mountain (28), he returned to Sveta Parvata (28), and crossing it reached the Kimpurusa country (Ch. XXIX, 1).

With this begins his third and the last great march, a mid-northern march as it should be styled, from Kanaur to lake Mānasa and then through Harivarsa and the mid country Ilāvṛta northwards (15) to the Mt. Meru, from where he first goes west and then turning back to Ilāvṛta goes east to, amongst others, the country of the Tankanas (44), the Tanganas of the mediæval inscriptions whose capital was near Badrinath. From that point he starts again on what appears to be a circuitous northern route emerging finally in Uttara Kurus (63-70).

³⁵ Elsewhere (*Nāgarī Pracārini Patrilā*, III), I have shown that in a Skt inscription of the 15th century we find mention of Rohelā Rajputs, long before the Rohilla Pathans of the later Mughal period.

The close relation between the Tukhāras and the Yue-chi has been known and its exact nature been a matter for speculation and investigation since the days of Lassen, V de St-Martin and Yule. Its true nature has been suggested, in my view, by the shrewd observation of the illustrious Swedish savant that the language which the Uigurs called Tokhari is called in its own manuscripts Ārsī, and though the two names represented different tribes, yet the name of the latter was applied to the former exactly in the way in which the name of a Zentonic tribe, the Franks, was applied to a nation of Latino Keltic blood and its speech, or as that of another Norse tribe, the Ros, to a Slavonic people and their language.³⁸

Thus if the equations $\text{Asiani} = \text{Yue chi}$ and $\text{Tukhāra} = \text{Ta-hia}$ were true, it could be easily explained why the speech of the Tukhāras was called Ārsī. It received the name from that of the ruling clan of the Tukhāras. The missing link is now supplied by the passage of the Mahābhārata, which places the Rśikas exactly where the Yue chi are known to have lived before they started on their eventful migrations, and which therefore dates from a period not later than, say, 176 B C when the Hung nu king Modu sent the news to the Chinese emperor of his having conquered the country of the Yue chi and driven them westwards. The derivation of the name Ārsī is thus fully explained, and we have found out the real name of the tribe which directed the destinies of high Asia for centuries, and gave Kaniska to civilisation.

VIII Kālidāsa's ideal of India's National unity

Let us now revert to Kālidāsa. In the first introductory chapter of the *Rūparelāhā* I had to mark India's natural boundaries. I accepted the dictum of the Purānas that India stretched from the Cape Comorin to the source of the Ganges,³⁹ and from that source eastwards up to the river Lohit I traced the border line along the most natural frontier, the snow-line of the Himalayas. Of course, our ancestors included in the Himalayas what the modern geographers call the Zaskar range and the Ladak range beyond the great Himalaya range, even the source of the Ganges according to modern terminology is in the Zaskar range. Westwards the boundary goes along the same snow-line, but only up to Zaji-la pass to the north

not a literary renaissance have been the fore-runner of a political regeneration, and a poet be the harbinger of what Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar would call the Vikramādityan revival ? The genius of Kālidāsa felt ages ago through inborn intuition that unity of India which we after a century and half of modern indological research can only vaguely perceive

If the tracing of Raghu's northern course as worked up here can lead to this right appreciation of the great poet's idealism, I will consider this paper to have achieved its object

MANER AND ITS HISTORICAL REMAINS

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I

Maner, a village about twenty miles west of Patna is a place of great historical and archæological interest. It is situated between the District Board road which runs from Patna to Bihta on the one side and the river Son on the other. The great river once flowed just beneath it but has since receded two or three miles away to the west, leaving a dry bed of sand, but during the rainy season, its waters still touch the foot of the great mound on the north-west which once was the citadel of Maner. Situated on a high strip of land, and enshrined among mango and guava groves, the climate of Maner is cool and healthy, and with its great *pucca* tank flanked by the beautifully situated Inspection Bungalow on the one side and the noble edifice of Chhoti Dargah on the other, it is one of the finest beauty spots in the District of Patna and well worth a visit.

The greater part of Maner is now in ruins, but it must have been a large and well-populated town in ancient times, as its remains, scattered over a large area, indicate. It is at present the centre of a Pargana with a Police Station, a Post-office and a Charitable Dispensary attached to it, but in ancient Persian records it is invariably mentioned as a 'Balda', i.e. a town, and old legal documents refer to its Adalat-ul-Alia, a High Court, with signatures of two Qazis on them, which points out unmistakably to the fact that during the Muhammadan period, it must have been a place of great political importance. It was more or less an important place during the Hindu period also, for in the account of the conquest of Bihar by the Muhammadans, the historians mention Maner along with Bihar as a separate entity. This importance of Maner was, no doubt, due to its topography. Situated just at the junction of the two great rivers, the Ganges and the Son, it was on the high way of commerce and must have been a trade centre, while with a high and strong fortress on the river side to protect it, it must have commanded a position of great strategic importance in those times.

Professor Sharma in his foreword expressed his surprise at the mention of 'Turk's duty', and it is really incompatible with facts heretofore known. It is well-known that Bakhtiyar Khilji, the so called first Muslim conqueror of Bihar, came here in 1197 A.D. but seventy years before this date the people of Maner were paying Turk's duty as a regular payment like other State dues such as trade duties and the revenue. It may not consistently be argued that this might be a sort of blackmail exacted by the Turks during their sporadic incursions for, the very mention of it along with the most important State dues, namely, the trade duty and the revenue, at once takes it out of the casual and places it on the basis of a regular and permanent State duty. In the light of these facts we are driven to only one conclusion, namely, that long before Bakhtiyar's advent in Bihar, some part of the Province including Maner had fallen under a sort of suzerainty of the Turks (the Ghaznavite emperors) who used to receive regular tribute from these places.

The local traditions of Maner say that at this time a single Muslim used to live in this place. His name was Hazrat Momin Arif. He was an Arab by race and had migrated from his native country Yemen to India and settled in Maner. He is regarded as a great saint and a large section of the inhabitants of Maner trace their descent from him. His grave lies to the north-west of the Inspection Bungalow in Maner. The Raja of Maner, probably a feudatory Chief, had a religious antipathy to this peaceful and holy demizen of his realm and began to persecute him in various ways so that he might depart from his dominions. When life at Maner became intolerable to him, he left for the Muslim world and told the tale of his persecution wherever he went. Here perhaps it may not be out of place to suggest that this Momin Arif was probably a representative of the Ghaznavite rulers to receive duty and that when the Ghaznavite rule grew weak the Raja tried to stop payment by persecuting and driving him out. To resume, however, the narrative, he arrived ultimately to the centre of Islam, i.e. Madina and there Hazrat Taj Faqih, an inhabitant of Jerusalem, joined him with his party and they returned to India. On their way to India they were supported and joined by many Muslim warriors and princes till their small party swelled into a fairly large army. This army entered India through the usual route from the north-west and passed quietly through the greater part of India till it arrived

Muhammad has been strengthened) which is equal to 576 A H (1180 A D) The very wording of this chronogram indicates that this was not the first conquest of Maner by the Muslims This event happened seventeen years before Bakhtiyar Khilji came It appears that the victory of the Muslims in Maner was not of a very local character for, we find several comrades of Hazrat Taj Faqih to have fallen and buried in places quite far off from Maner, for example, Shah Burhan Roshan Shahid is buried in village Kumhrar south of Patna, and Chandan Shahid is buried on a hillock in Sasaram So, Bakhtiyar must have found it smooth work to run over the greater part of Bihar, as history proves

It is stated that after Maner was conquered and Muslim rule established there Hazrat Taj Faqih left his sons and grandsons to rule over it and himself went back to Madina Hazrat Makhdum Yahya was one of his grandsons, and came to rule Maner in his turn But he was very much given to Sufistic devotion, and when a Muslim conqueror arrived at Maner, he made over the kingdom to him and retired into a private life of devotion and mystical practices Now, who can this conqueror be? Hazrat Makhdum Yahya died in 690 A H (1291 A D) as indicated by the chronogram *مخدوم* He is said to have lived about 110 years Thus in the year 1197, the year which saw Bakhtiyar Khilji enter Bihar, he was about sixteen years old and in his youthful ardour for religious devotion, he might have made over the Kingdom of Maner to him Since then, his whole family adopted the life of religious devotees and produced a large number of well-known saints His son was the celebrated saint Hazrat Makhdum Sharafuddin Ahmad of Bihar who is regarded almost as great as Khwaja Moinuddin of Ajmere His father-in-law was Shaikh Shahabuddin, also known as Pir-Jag Jot, the famous saint buried in Kachi Dargah, east of Patna, and one of his sisters-in-law was Bibi Kamalo, the well-known female saint, who rests in the village Kako, District Gaya Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat, whose remains lie in the beautiful mausoleum, called Chhoti Dargah in Maner, was one of his descendants in the eighth degree In fact all the holy orders of saints in Bihar, whether at Phulwari-sharif, Bihar-sharif or elsewhere, trace their descent, lineal or spiritual, to this one great source of spiritualism

to say that during his extensive travels throughout India he never saw a tank more beautifully designed. It is rectangular in shape, stretching north and south. It is connected with the river Son on its north-western corner by a subterranean channel about six feet in diameter and during rainy season, draws the greater part of its supply of water from the river Son through the same channel. All the four sides of the tank, throughout their entire length, are made *pucca* with masonry work, the upper portion having the form of walls, while the lower portion, from the water line downwards, consisting of stairs or steps going to a great depth and running parallel to the four walls throughout their entire length. In the middle of each side, is a beautiful *ghat* consisting of projected steps and a small two-storied building the ground floor touching the water line and the first floor on a level with the road. The lower story is a masonry building consisting of two separate rooms on the two sides of the *ghat*, while the upper story has two beautiful canopies, each on one of the lower rooms, consisting of stone pillars with a domed roof on them and open on all sides. These buildings at the four *ghats* are not only very useful and convenient to the bathers, but are also fine places for fishing, picnic and pleasure parties. We can very well imagine that during its palmy days, this tank with its *ghats* and canopies, must have afforded ample pleasure to the inhabitants of Maner. But it is to be regretted that now, a great part of this fine tank is in ruins, some of the canopies and *ghats* have disappeared, others are slowly yielding to the ravages of time, and unless great efforts are made to preserve it, it will not be long before it becomes a pit with a heap of ruins on all sides. A road runs on three sides of the tank, and beyond the road there is high ground or mound on each side, forming a base for the buildings that stand on it. On the eastern side is Bari Dargah, on the west a few tombs, on the north the fine shrine of Chhoti Dargah and on the south the Inspection Bungalow of the District Board.

2 Bari Dargah

Bari Dargah claims our attention first, not only because of its name, but also because it is of very ancient origin and is regarded as the most sacred of all the shrines at Maner. If you want to enter the Dargah from the tank side, a long flight of steps will take you to its door facing the west. It has, however, another door on the

lintel stone is removed from its place Due south from Hazrat Makhdum Yahya's tomb, is the tomb of Prince Tajuddin Khandgah, said to be a scion of Sultan Mahmud's family Outside the northern gate, there is an open Mosque said to be built by two Khwaja Saras (eunuch chamberlains) of a king of Delhi, who were later on, buried there at their express injunction, saying that as they had spent their whole life at the court of a temporal king, they wanted, after death, to be attached to the court of a spiritual king

The main Mosque already mentioned is a three domed building with a *pucca* platform outside The Mosque is in a very dilapidated condition, and almost on the point of crumbling down to the ground This Mosque and the boundary wall of Baii Dargah were built under the orders of the same Ibrahim Khan Kakar who effected the construction of the tank and the Chhoti Dargah The inscription at the door of the Mosque gives 1014 A H (1606 A D) as the date of its construction, and runs as follows —

ای حوس آنکس کاندرس دار فنا	کست احسان کاشت در کشت بقا
حاصه کو کرده بنای مسعدی	بر طرق کعبه بیت الهدی
همچنین بر مرفد سلطان دس	شیخ یحیی سر گروه اولیا
ساحت ابراهیم حان کاکر دل	مسعد عالی بنا بهر حد
بدنه عامی چو در تاریخ آن	حستحویتموده و میرد دست و پا
ناگهان در گوش هوس او سروش	بهر ایس دار الامان دوسرا
گفت اس مصراع از الهام عیب	”کرد ابراهیم بیت الله بنا“

سده ۱۰۱۴ هـ

“ Happy is he, who in this mortal world,
Sowed the seed of goodness in the field of eternity
Specially he, who built a Mosque
Like Kaaba, the House of the True Path
Similarly, on the tomb of the King of Faith,
Shaikh Yahya, the leader of God's Friends,
Ibrahim Khan Kakar devoutly built
A noble Mosque for God's sake
The slave Asi, in search for its chronogram
Made attempts and tried his wits,
When, suddenly, an angel in his ear of wisdom,
For this sanctuary of the two worlds,
Said this line through inspiration —
‘ Abraham built the House of God ’ ”

of them having large passages of the Quran carved out in them in fine Naskh characters, while others having beautiful floral designs. The varandahs are open outside and are supported on stone pillars. The whole building entirely made of stone, with fine carving and lattice work, high plinth, long airy varandahs, stately domes, presents a magnificent and imposing appearance.

There are two inscriptions in this building, one indicating the date of the death of Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat of Maner, whose remains lie buried in this building, and the other indicating the date of the construction of the building. The inscription containing the chronogram which indicates the date of the saint's decease, is as follows —

طب اطباء زمان فدوئے دین آنکہ ار صہر و معہ انور بودہ
شاه دولت کہ سوی عالم قدس چون ر گیتی بسر در بودہ
سال شہسوار حرد عاصی یافت وارہ حال بیمبر بودہ
سنہ ۱۰۱۷ھ

“The Holiest of the Holy saints of the time, the spiritual leader

Who was brighter than the moon and the sun

Shah Daulat, who towards the world of spirits

Journeyed from this world

His (death's) year of Hijra, the mind of Asī found out

‘He was the inheritor of the Prophet's state’ ”

The last line forms the chronogram and is equivalent to 1017 A H (1609 A D)

The other inscription indicative of the date of construction of the building is as follows —

ار بہر ثمار ابن بناہی آباد ار درج دلم دو در تاریخ فتاد
اول بشمر ”رومئے احباب“ و دوم ”مانند بہشت حاوہاں امنی باد“
سنہ ۱۰۲۵ھ سنہ ۱۰۲۵ھ

“As an offering for this auspicious building,

Two pearls of chronogram fell down from the casket of my heart

First, regard it as ‘the garden of friends’, secondly

‘May it remain safe like the eternal Heaven’ ”

Each of the last two lines gives out the date 1025 A H (1617 A D)

The heart of 'Asi asked his intelligence as to the year of its construction,
His intelligence said, 'Like Abraham he has built God's House' "

The last sentence above, enclosed within inverted commas, forms the chronogram and bears the date of 1028 A H (1619 A D), which is also the date of the death of Ibrahim Khan Kakar The last portion of the inscription bearing the chronogram is in Persian verse, while the first portion is in Arabic prose, part of it, enclosed within inverted commas, being a quotation from the Quran (Chapter Al-'Imran)

The varandahs, running north and south, are supported on stone pillars and are open towards the east . At the southern most corner, there is an underground cell, supposed to be the place where Hazrat Makhdum Shah Daulat used to retire for prayer and meditation The turrets in the walls, already referred to, have stone lattices beautifully carved, and show other signs of artistic work, such as enamelled tiling in blue which has almost faded away On the northern side, there is a grand entrance gate, beautifully designed after the usual Moghal style A wide flight of stone steps from the ground leads to it, and the top portion of the gate has the following inscription —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله
كنت في فكر من هذا الباب كان قلبي يحوله سكا
قال عقلي على طريق الامر قل "من دخله كان آمنا"

چو درس روضه مقدس شاه روی ریت بهاده بر اتمام
سال تازیج من ارو حتم حردم بهر اس حسسته مقام
دعا لب کشوده و گفتا "در دولت کشاده ناد دوام"

"In the name of God, kind and merciful There is no God but Allah Muhammad is his Prophet

I was thinking of the date of this gate,
My heart was living in its vicinity
My intelligence said, by way of command,
Say, 'Whoever entered it is safe'

little west to the above, is that of Husain Khan who was one of the comrades of Hazrat Taj Faqih, and was a great wrestler. There is also an arena or wrestling ground at the foot of the tomb, supposed to be his wrestling ground, where even now the wrestlers go and offer prayer and homage when they first begin to learn wrestling. There is another tomb of Hazrat Jalal Maneri, a cousin to Hazrat Makhdum Yahya Maneri. There is also a small Mosque there, known as 'DHAI KANGURA KI MASJID' (Mosque of two and half minarets). Nothing more could be ascertained about this Mosque, and it is difficult to say when and by whom it was built.

5 Other buildings and tombs at Maner

At some distance on the north from the building mentioned above, there is on the plain ground, the tomb of Hazrat Momin Arif, about whom a good deal has already been said. It is a plain tomb without any building or canopy over it. The anniversary of Hazrat Momin Arif is celebrated in the month of Rabiul-Awal with due ceremonies every year.

South east from the Inspection Bungalow, just at the point where the road from the Inspection Bungalow joins the main District Board road, is the tomb of Tangur Kuli Khan of Badahshan. He has already been referred to as the engineer who designed the tank, the Chhoti Dargah and other important buildings at Maner though he did not live long enough to see their completion, for he died in the year 983 A H (1556 A D). His tomb is a beautiful construction. It is surrounded by an enclosure wall, on the western side there is a Mosque. The writer was informed that the tomb was formerly covered by a beautiful stone canopy which, however, fell down by wear and tear of time, and the stones were removed by persons requiring them for private purposes. The inscription on the tomb gives the date mentioned above, and quotes the following two very pathetic lines from Saadi —

دریعا که بی ما بسی زورگار برود گل و سگد نو بهار
کسانیکه از ما بعید اندر اند بیاید و بر خاک ما بگدرد

“Alas! after us, for many a day,
Flowers will grow and the spring will bloom
Those that are behind us, in the unknown,
Will come and pass over our dust”

by a certain Hammad Khafir Bu-Zubair Now, this Sultan Mahmud can be no other than Sultan Mahmud Tughlaq, who ascended the throne in 1393 A D , for, the date of the above mentioned inscription is 798 A H , which is equivalent to 1396 A D But we do not know who this Hammad Khafir Bu Zubair is The said Jalilul Haqq, to whom is attributed the construction of the Mosque in the first instance, is probably the son of Hazrat Makhdum Yahya But how this piece of stone bearing the inscription, came to be set up at the tombs of Haji Safiuddin and Haji Nizamuddin is inexplicable, except on the assumption, that it originally belonged to a Mosque which fell into ruin, and later on, men interested in the improvement of the two Hajis' tombs, where they earned a good deal of money from persons resorting for their dispossession by the evil spirits, set it up at the said tombs to give them an air of greatness and sanctity

If we go from this place to the main road which lies not very far in the east, and walk on that road northward to some distance, we shall meet a half-broken tomb on the road itself It is said to belong to a Shahid (a martyr), and it is related that when the road was under construction, the engineer ordered the demolition of the tomb in order to clear the road, but that at the first stroke of the pick-axe, it began to bleed, on which he was frightened and allowed it to remain as it was Nothing more could be known about it If we proceed on the same road further on till we arrive near the Police Station, we find a place south of the road and west of the Police Station which is called Barah Gor (twelve tombs), and it is supposed to be the place where certain twelve martyrs were buried This place is said to possess the efficacy of curing persons bitten by dogs, and men suffering from hydrophobia are often taken to that place and it is said they are cured of their malady

If we go back again to the site of the Raja's palace already referred to, we shall find certain things of interest there First there is the Riwaq or the male apartment of the palace which has already been mentioned Then there is a female Riwaq or apartment, and between these two, there is a gate with two massive brick pillars. The female Riwaq consists of a varandah facing west, a large hall in the centre, with two side rooms on the north and the south This part of the building was used by the Muslim conquerors as the female apartment of their house, and Hazrat Makhdum Yahya is said to

named Burhanuddin, at Sharafuddinpur which is a village near Bahpura. This Burhanuddin also was one of the companions of Hazrat Taj Faqih and fell in the battle. Some three miles east from Mauer, on the *pucca* District Board road, there is a place called Gauria-Asthan, a sort of temple with a *Neem* tree over it. Close to this is a tomb of another Shahid (Martyr), and the travellers think it their duty to go to the tomb and place a piece of earth over it. The ground in which the Asthan and the tomb are situated is probably the site where a palace stood in the times of the Raja. The cultivators, while tilling the land, have occasionally found small snakes, made of pure gold. There was a custom among the Hindu Rajas and Princes that they buried gold snakes in the foundations of their houses, in order to make them auspicious, and so the snakes found in the ground prove the fact that there was a princely house there. As we know of the Raja of Maner only that lived in the vicinity, we conclude that the house must be his. It is not improbable that the fort of Maner on the river side, with its fortifications and palaces, extended up to this place.

ECLECTICISM BEFORE AKBAR

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It is well-known that Akbar was the founder of a new Faith embodying principles drawn from various religions and diverse sects. His biographers describe him as the father of an eclecticism in religion. A study of the original sources reveals that there was a tendency to eclecticism already before his reign and that it was by no means confined to religion. It was characteristic of the time spirit, and is traceable in Architecture, Art, Social life, Literature and Religion.

Mussalman Architecture in the period of the Delhi Sultanate shows an increasing adoption, and in some cases an adaptation, of Hindu principles and elements. The Mosque of Ala-ad din has all its entrances embellished with lotus cuspings. In the palace of Firuz at Delhi the Hindu column and the arch are combined. Hindu influence is visible in features like pillars, brackets and balconies, and the flat lintel usurps the place of the pointed arch. The Tilangani tomb is not square but octagonal in plan. Hindu influence is even more marked in the provincial styles. In Bengal the arches were constructed on the Hindu corbel system, as are the domes of the Jamī Musjid in the Gujerat style at Ahmedabad, which is merely a pillared hall constructed on purely Hindu principles. The Mosques in Champanir reveal the Hindu trabeate system only modified by the use of structural domes in place of the older corbelled roofs. The Lal Darwaza of Jaunpur is in markedly Hindu style. Abul Fazl expressly mentions that Akbar's earliest buildings at Agra were erected 'after the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujerat, which masterly sculptors and cunning artists of form have fashioned as architectural models' (*Am Blochmann's trans*, Vol II, p 180).

The eclectic movement in Architecture reveals itself on every side in the first half of the 16th century. It is probable that Sher Shah learnt his lessons from Gujerat. We find the use of the Hindu bracket as a characteristic feature of the decoration in his Mosque of Purana Kila at Delhi. In this respect also Akbar was

columns and bracket capitals. The latter is also square and not octagonal in plan, and has an outward screen of trellis-work which is far more elegant than the open arcade till then in fashion. This transition from the Persian to the Indo-Persian style is most noticeable in the tomb of Humayun finished by Haji Begum in 1569. It has numerous brackets and balustrades and reveals two innovations. There are towers attached to the four angles of the main building whose ground-plan is purely Indian. We meet also here for the first time with the narrow-necked double dome, much more beautiful and effective than the low-pitched pre-Mughal dome, which was afterwards adopted in all buildings in the Mughal style. Thus the main features of the Indo-Persian style had been already evolved by this date. It is not possible to plead, as does Fergusson,¹ that any of these buildings can be ascribed to the 'invigorating touch of Akbar's genius'. It can be proved that Akbar had no artistic genius or even taste at this time. When he sacked Chittore in 1568 he allowed the fine Hindu monuments to be razed to the ground. The Ranga Mahal at Fatehpur-Sikri which he put up in 1568-69, to house the mother of the future Jahangir, is a building singularly devoid of decoration. At Salimgarh² his building shows elaborate paintings and clumsily drawn geometrical figures like those of the Jamī Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri. On the other hand Akbar's Red Palace in the Agra Fort, then known as the Bengalee Mahal and now as the Jahangiri Mahal, marks the first employment of the new style by him. Here Hindu ornamentation and the horizontal style of construction supersede the Saracen arches. The building was apparently put up soon after 1579 when, we learn from the *Akbar-Namah*,³ Akbar halted in this place. Similar eclecticism in Architecture can be traced about this date in the Hindu buildings of Muttra and Brindaban commencing from 1570 A.D.

Indian painting of the period discloses a similar eclecticism. This is revealed in the products of the various schools of Rajput painting in the 15th century. When Humayun returned to India after his wanderings in Persia, he brought a school of Persian and Kalmuk artists in 1555. They were trained in the Timurid style and were employed in illustrating the romance of Amir Hamza.

¹ *Arch. Sur. Ann. Rep.* for 1910-11

² *Architecture*, p. 576

³ (Beveridge's Translation), II, 247

food and other conveniences (Elliot and Dowson *History of India as told by her own Historians*, Vol III)

Such influences were natural results of social intercourse and had their reaction on religion. They could not be suppressed by political authority. As early as the eleventh century we have the foundation of the sect of the Pacha Piriyas which dates from a nephew of Mahamud of Ghazni and included Hindus and Muslims among its followers (E and D, Vol II, 513 ff). In the reign of Sikandar Lodi a holy Mussulman protested publicly against the Sultan's interference with the religion of his Hindu subjects. When a Brahmin claimed equality for all religions the Qazis of Lucknow were divided as to his guilt. The Nur Bakshis considered the path of devotion (bhakti) as much more important than the law of the Prophet. On the Hindu side we have the formation of the Bhakti schools in Kashmir and Bengal which culminated in Lalla Kabir, and Chaitanya, and schools of unification or unitarism associated with Nanak in the Punjab, Tulsidas in west India and Appayya Dikshit in the South.

The most prominent of these religious movements were those of Sufism, Mahdism and Epicureanism. In 1571 died Abdul Gaffur the Epicurean founder of the Postinus, whose new drink of poppy-pods numbed and freed the desires of the flesh, and Akbar was among his admirers. Shi'ism grew apace since it was founded by Ismail of the Safavi dynasty in 1523 (*Malcolm Vol I, 500*), and spread over India down to the extreme south. Montesquieu of the Arabs, Ibn Khaldun, records how the Shias were longing for the return of the Mahdi even since the 14th century. The Mahdi movement spread to Persia and India. Mir Sayyad Muhammad of Jaunpur, Miyan Abdullah and Shaikh Ali of Biana were Mahdis about 1550. The work of the Mahdavi preachers was furthered by the spread of Sufism. The free opinions of the Sufis regarding the dogmas of Islam, their contempt for its form and their claim to a distinct communion with the deity were all calculated to subvert that belief for which they outwardly professed respect. In 1537 Shaikh Salim Chishti settled at Sikri and founded a monastery, school and mosque. Akbar fell under his influence. It is interesting how in far off Bengal the cult of Satya Pir was founded early in the 16th century by Hussam Shah of Gaur with the object of uniting Hindus and Muslims in religious worship. In the religious literature of Bengal

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF RECONVERSION INTO HINDUISM IN ANCIENT INDIA

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The problem of reconversion first arose before Hinduism when it came into contact with the Islam. Earlier in its history, Hinduism had come into very close contact with a number of foreign religions and cultures, e g Persian, Greek, Scythian, Hūna, etc. Though the followers of these religions belonged to the conquering races there is no evidence forthcoming to show that any of the followers of Hinduism had been converted to the creeds and cultures of the conquerors. On the other hand, all the available evidence tends to show that Hinduism soon succeeded in converting the conquerors; they were very soon assimilated to the original followers of the religion.

At the advent of the Islam the state of affairs was however different. Islam was too strong, aggressive and clear cut a religion to be assimilated, and Hinduism, too, had lost her old power of assimilation. The problem of reconversion, therefore, arose in an acute form when thousands of Hindus began to be converted, mainly by force, subsequent to the conquest of Sind in 712 A D.

Unlike their present day descendants, the Hindus of the 8th century had realised that they could not afford to look with serene complacency on mass conversions that were being effected by the conquerors. A perusal of *Devala Smṛti*, which, as its preface shows, was composed in Sindh on the banks of the Indus, makes it clear that even the orthodox section of the society was prepared to readmit the converts, if the conversion was due to force or fraud and the convert had sought readmission within a period of 20 years. It is noteworthy that this writer unhesitatingly recommends the readmission even of women, who had the misfortune of being ravished by the Mlecchas, even if the ravishment had resulted in conception (*Devala*, vv 47-8). *Atri samhitā* (vv 200-202) also agrees with *Devala* in this view, though the date of the work is difficult to determine. The *Brhad yama Smṛti*, Chapter V, vv 5-6 also lays down that persons

It seems almost certain that if the conversion were due to force or fraud, there would have been encountered still less opposition, as such cases were provided for by the *Smritis* of the age

As the 11th century advanced, the reconversions began to become less and less popular. Alberuni informs us that he was repeatedly told that when Hindu slaves in the Muslim countries escaped and returned to their country and religion, they were readmitted after an expiation—an expiation which as described to and by Alberuni bears a sufficiently close resemblance to that prescribed by Devala. Alberuni, however, states that when he enquired from the Brāhmanas whether the reports of reconversions were true, they denied them, maintaining that there was no expiation possible for such individuals¹. It is thus clear from the testimony of Alberuni that towards the middle of the 11th century, the masses were still for reconversion, though the orthodox section among the Brāhmanas was seeking to interdict the practice.

The main reason for this attitude of the orthodoxy was its growingly puritanical notions of purity. Ample evidence is available to show that at about this time interdining and intermarriages among the various Hindu castes had begun to become unpopular. As a result, grave difficulties about the social position of the reconverts must have begun to arise as they do to day. Alberuni disbelieves the reports of reconversions and accepts the information of his Brāhmana reporters for a very significant reason. He says 'How should that (i.e. reconversion) be possible? If a Brāhmana eats in the house of a Sūdra for sundry days he is expelled from his caste, and can never regain it'. It is thus clear that growing notions of excessive purity, which were responsible for the prohibition of the once current practice of interdining and intermarriage were also responsible for the cessation of the most useful and necessary practice of reconversion. It is very doubtful whether the present efforts of conversion and reconversion into Hinduism will be crowned with appreciable success unless the intercaste social relations are reorganised on a different principle.

¹ Alberuni, II, pp. 162-3

RAO CHANDRASEN, A FORGOTTEN HERO OF RAJPUTANA

PANDIT BISHESHWARNATH REU

The name of the magnanimous hero, Maharana Pratap of Mewar, and the memory of his noble deeds thrill the heart of every true Indian—young or old—with emotion even to this day. But the name of Rao Chandrasen, the first hero of Rajasthan, who, in protecting his independence against the covetousness of the great Moghal Emperor Akbar sacrificed his ancestral throne and took all the calamities upon himself, and whose trodden path was followed by Maharana Pratap after a period of about 10 years, looks quite new to history. Aye, the very name of such a great hero is lost in his own domains by circumstances.

Short summary of the life of Pratap

Maharana Pratap was born on the 3rd day of the bright half of Jyestha Vikram Samvat 1597 (9th May, 1540 A D) and ascended the throne of Mewar in V S 1628 (1571 A D), when many districts of his country had passed under the sway of the Moghals and his own brothers had rebelled against him. In spite of all these calamities he opened life long hostilities with Emperor Akbar, to deliver his ancestral capital Chittor from him and missed no opportunity of breaking down from his impregnable mountain fastness upon the imperial odds. The Islamites, too, left no stone unturned to compel him to subjugation. On one occasion the imperial army being defeated either took to their heels or dispersed, while on another the Maharana had to seek shelter in the impregnable mountains. This state of affairs lasted up to A D 1586 (V S 1643), when Akbar's attention was diverted to the affairs of Punjab. And the Maharana getting some rest regained some of his lost districts, but he could not acquire the possession of Chittor in his life time and took away this sorrow to the grave.

Such is the brief summary of the noble deeds of Maharana Pratap, and for such inflexible honour, bravery and patriotism, he, in

with his three elder brothers ¹ They persuaded them to raise trouble in different quarters His eldest brother Ram rebelled in Sojat, the second Raymal towards Dundara, while the third Udaisingh having made a surprising attack took the two villages Baori and Gangani. At this Rao Chandrasen immediately marched against Udaisingh who, relinquishing the possession of his newly acquired villages, retreated towards Phalodi At Lohawat, however, he was overtaken and wounded by the Rao in a battle which resulted in a victory for the latter After some time Rao Chandrasen again prepared to invade Phalodi at the time when the power of the Moghal Emperor Akbar was fast rising But some considerate nobles intervened and made peace between the two brothers, as they (nobles) apprehended danger to the Rathor power through family dissensions at such a time

In 1620 V S (1563 A D) the Rao led an army against his eldest brother Ram At first Ram came out and opposed the army of the Rao at Nadol ² But seeing no chance of victory he went to Husain Quli Begh, the imperial Hakim at Nagaur, stated his prior claim by primogeniture to the throne of Marwar, and asked for help. Husain Quli seeing a chance of benefitting himself by this internal discord readily accepted the proposal and suddenly laid a siege to Jodhpur The Rao fought for some days, but being obliged by the shortage of provision had to make peace,³ and agreed to restore

of the nobles named Jaitmal (son of Jaisa) When he was arrested and brought back, the said noble requested the Rao to punish him in any way other than death Incensed at this uncalled for interference the Rao ordered the unfortunate wretch to be instantly put to death Jaitmal and his colleagues did not like it

¹ At this time the three older brothers of the Rao were in their respective Jagirs The eldest Ram was at Sojat, the second Rayamal at Sewana and the third Udaisingh at Phalodi

² Another version is that it was Rao Ram, who, with the assistance of Maharana Udaisingh, had at first marched out in order to obtain the throne of Marwar

³ It is stated in *Tarikh-i-Palanpur* (part I, page 77) 'That Mirza Sharfuddin rebelled against Akbar and invaded Merta after the demise of Rao Maldev, and that Rao Chandrasen saved Merta by concluding a peace with him in 1615 V S (1559 A D)' These facts are doubtful, for Merta had been made over to Jaimal by Sharfuddin during the life time of Rao Maldev After this when Sharfuddin rebelled Akbar took Merta from Jaimal and made it over to Jagmal Sharfuddin rebelled in 1620 V S (1563 A D — 971 A H) while Rao Maldev died in 1619 V S

his court¹ there. The Rao, too, went there to read his mind, and was received by the Emperor with due honour. His intimate desire was that if the Rao were to own his allegiance even in name he might restore Jodhpur to him. But the unbending nature of the Rao defied all courtly allurements and he returned to Bhadravan rejecting the offers of the Emperor.

Soon after this the imperial army laid siege to Bhadravan while the Rao defended it for some time. As the provision here, too, failed he went to Sewana.

In 1629 V S (1572 A D) he made a recruiting tour and on his way when encamped at Kanuja (district Jaitaran) Ratan, son of Khimva, the chieftain of Asarlai, disregarded the summons of his court. The Rao therefore, marched on Asarlai and laid it waste.

Next year (1630 V S — 1573 A D) the inhabitants of the town of Bhinava (district Ajmer) approached him for protection against the depredations of Madaha, the Bhil chieftain. Accepting their appeal the Rao attacked the residence of the Bhil. As many other Bhils of the neighbourhood happened to be at his residence to join some ceremony, they all took up arms to repulse the attack. But as soon as Madaha was killed they all fled² away leaving the place and the district in the possession of the Rao.

¹ Udaisingh, the third son of Rao Maldev and Rao Kalyanmal and his son Raisingh of Bikaner, etc., had had an interview with Emperor at this place. The Emperor deputed Udaisingh to suppress the Gujar rising in Samauli and kept prince Raisingh in the court, to whom afterwards the administration of Jodhpur was also entrusted. Prince Ram was also appointed in Jodhpur to participate in guarding the highway to Guirat.

It is stated in *Tabaqat-i-Ikbari* that Akbar reached Nagaur on the 16th Jamadiul Akhir, 977 A H (3rd day of the dark half of Paus, 1626 V S — 26th November, 1569 A D) and sojourned there for 50 days (page 239). But in the 'Akbarnama' this event is said to have occurred in 978 A H (1570 A D) (Vol II, pages 357-58).

² From that day the following proverb is prevalent in Marwar — 'मादलियो मादियोने गोट बीखरी', i.e. as soon as Madaha (the Bhil chief) was killed the guests to the feast dispersed.

Bhinava is in the possession of the descendants of Rao Chandrasen up to this day.

It is stated in the chiefs and leading families of Rajputana, 'Chandrasen, the grandson of Rao Maldev of Marwar, (1531) came to Ajmer and, having by stratagem intoxicated Madaha, the chief of a band of Bhils who ravaged the country near Bhinai, slew him and dispersed his followers. For this service

Emperor, therefore, sent Tayyab Khan, Sayyad Toqbal, Subhan Quli Khan Turk, Khurram, Azmatkhan, Shirdas, etc with a large army to help the imperial forces at Sewana. The strength of the imperial army being thus redoubled, the Rao at the request of his Sardars escaped via Rampura to the impregnable hills, the Emperor was much resented to hear the escape of the Rao and reproached his commanders.

Next in 1632 V S (993 A H) Jalal Khan was deputed¹ to suppress the Rao and Sayyad Ahmad, Sayyad Hashim, Shimalkhan and other nobles were also ordered to accompany him.

As the previously sent army suffered continued failure it became disheartened and as they had no good provision of fodder and had to wander fruitlessly in the hilly tracts the horses, too became weak and unserviceable². The Emperor, therefore, instructed these newly appointed nobles to relieve it. Accordingly the nobles went to their respective Jagirs to make preparations.

When Jalal Khan reached Merta Ramsingh, Sultansingh,³ Ali Quli, etc nobles of the Sewana army, sent him words, that, though they were trying their best to suppress the Rao, yet they had not been able to win him, for being himself a brave warrior, surrounded by retainers, brave alike, and finding an impregnable shelter in the mountains, he was invincible. But if Jalal Khan would instantly help them with his army they would achieve some success. So Jalal Khan immediately marched on Sewana. Hearing this the Rao arranged an ambush to surprise and rout Jalal Khan in the way but somehow the latter got scent of his movement, he, therefore, advanced forward and attacked the Rao. This surprising attack upset all his (Rao's) projects, yet for some time, he continued the conflict with the imperial army from his mountain fastness⁴. Afterwards anticipating destruction of his handful brave soldiers in thus falling upon an immense army he again had to take refuge in the mountains.

As the imperial army had had a bitter experience of entering into the mountains in pursuit of such a dangerous enemy as the Rao this time they retired to the fortress of Ramgadh, and from

¹ *Albarnama*, Vol III, page 158

² *ibid*, Vol III, page 167

³ These were younger brothers of Rao Raisingh of Bikaner

⁴ *Albarnama*, Vol III, pages 158 159

parts This new general, on reaching Devkor, saw that the imperial army besieging the fortress, was engaged in fruitless attempts He, therefore, advanced ahead and attacked the fort This reinforcement greatly added to the strength of the imperial army and the handful and fatigued retainers of Prince Kalla could not stand its charges for long The fortress was captured and Shahbazkhan left some portion of the army in the fortress under the Sayyads of Barah, while he himself proceeded to Sewana On his way there were some Rathor warriors, stationed in the fortress of Dunaia,¹ to whom the commander of the imperial army (Shahbazkhan) proposed subjugation and imperial service But these brave Rathors preferred death to loss of independence and engaged the great Moghal army in a furious battle till each of them had fallen on the field The Moghal army then took possession of the fortress (of Dunara), proceeded further, laid siege to Sewana and relieved and sent back the old army, as instructed by the Emperor The new general, after some days' strenuous efforts, perceived that it was very difficult to take the fort by fighting in the open field with the brave Rathors He, therefore, began to press the garrison by employing stratagems, and cut off all supplies to the inmates of the fort Seeing further defence impossible the commander of the garrison proposed to evacuate it on condition of being allowed to retire peacefully Shahbaz welcomed the proposal as he foresaw only loss in pressing them any further After great and prolonged difficulties the fort of Sewana came in the possession of Akbar in 1633 V S (984 A H) and the surviving Rathor defenders retired to the mountains of Piplun where the Rao resided But still they did attack the Moghal army whenever possible

The same year in the month of Kartik (October, 1576 A D) Raval Hans Raj of Jaisalmer, seeing the Rao engaged with the imperial army invaded Pokaran, which was defended by Pancholi Anand Ram, the fort officer of the Rao, for about 4 months But in the end both the armies, seeing no advantage, concluded a treaty by which the Raval was to advance a loan of one lakh of Phadias (Rs 12,300) to the Rao and the Rao was to hand over the district of Pokaran to the Raval on the condition to return it on the repayment of the said

¹ At present there is no fortress in Dunaia

Marwar¹ On the spot where he was cremated there stands a marble tablet² to this day

Rao Chandrasen was a ruler of very inflexible and independent disposition. He took upon himself the calamities of a wandering life in mountains after being deprived of his paternal state of Marwar. He continued to fight for 16 long years with the armies of Emperors like Akbar, and never thought of ending his miseries by yielding to the supremacy of the great Moghal. Even from *Albarnama* it is evident that it was an ardent desire of the Emperor to bring the Rao in his allegiance like other rulers of Rajputana, he, therefore, used to give special instructions to all his nobles sent against him to try their best to subjugate the Rao by temptations of imperial favours. But this desire of the Emperor had never been fulfilled. Rao Chandrasen³ had three sons, Ugrasen, Raisingh and Askaran.

Comparison

At that time Maharana and the Rao were the only two thorns pricking at the heart of Akbar. A contemporary poet has very well expressed this fact in the following couplet —

अण्णदगिया तुरी कजला असमर, चाकर रक्षण न डिगियौ चीत ।

मारै हिदुस्मान तणै मिर, पातल नै चद्रसेण प्रवीत ।

¹ It is stated in the chronicles of Marwar that when Rao Chandrasen had taken possession of Sojat a large number of Rathor Sardars from far and near had flocked under his banner. But Rathor Bairsal and Kumpavat Udaisingh paid no heed to him out of pride. Rao Chandrasen, therefore, marched upon Dador the Jagir of Bairsal. On the way as Askaran, son of Rathor Devidas promised to negotiate with Bairsal and to bring him in the service of the Rao the latter gave up the idea of invasion. But when Askaran saw Bairsal for the purpose, the latter feigning terror, requested the former to assure him of the favour of the Rao by bringing him (the Rao) to his house for dinner. It was done accordingly. But soon after his return from there the Rao suddenly expired, hence treachery on the part of Bairsal is generally suspected.

² In this tablet there is an image of Rao Chandrasen on horse back along with five ladies standing in front of him to show that five of his wives became Satis. This fact is also borne out by the inscription below the image which runs as follows —

“ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सवत् १६३७ शके १५[०]२ माघमासे सू(शु)क्लपक्षे सतिव (मग्नमी) दिने राय श्रीचंद्रसेनजी देवीकुला सती पच ऊई ” ।

³ Rao Chandrasen made a charitable grant of village Arathnadi to a Brahman named Sanga.

between Gogunda and Khamnor, similarly the Rao fought with the great Moghal armies from his sheltering place in the mountains of Sewana

6 Obligated by the continued attacks of the Moghal armies, the Rana had to wander away towards Banswara¹ and in Chhapan ka-Pahar (in Mewar), similarly the Rao had to go to Dungarpur and Banswara, while Chhapan ka-Pahar near Sewana was his main place of shelter for a long time

7 Maharana Pratap could not take Chittor, though he regained the possession of some of his lost districts similarly the Rao could not regain the possession of Jodhpur though Sojat was taken by him in his last days

8 Abul Fazal says (*Albarnama*, Vol II pages 357-58), 'In 975 A H, i.e. in the 15th regnal year, when Akbar came to Nagaur, Chandrasen son of Maldev, presented himself and received many imperial favours'

But from the chronology of events it appears, that, though Akbar had a wish to bestow favours on Chandrasen, the latter rejected his proposal of allegiance. This fact is proved by the following version of the same history²

'Early in the 19th regnal year (981 A H) when the Emperor came to Ajmer, he heard that Chandrasen son of Raja Maldev, had rebelled, that he had repaired the fortress of Sewana, one of the strongest forts in Ajmer "Suba" and had made it his abode. Hearing this the Emperor was moved to pity for the subjects of the district and deputed Shah Quli, Rao Raisingh, Shimalkhan, Keshavdas (son of Jaumal) and Jagat Rai (son of Dhan Chand) with a powerful army to punish him. He also instructed the generals that, should the Rao repent for his actions, he may be assured of imperial favours

After the former narrative of A H 978, the foregoing one of 981 A H is the first containing mention of the Rao in the *Albarnama*. Under the circumstances, as stated by Abul Fazal, if the Rao had acquired imperial favour at Nagaur, what then had been the cause of rebellion by him? Moreover, there appears no mention of the Emperor's favour to the Rao in the History'

¹ *Albarnama*, Vol III, page 238

² *ibid*, Vol III, pp 80 81

and Kanwar Mansingh to go with a small imperial army to hunt out the Rana in the mountains But when the Rana was not found they went to Gogunda '

' As Raja Bhagvantdas and Kutubuddin Khan returned without obtaining the permission of the Emperor, he was much displeased and refused them audience which was allowed when they begged his pardon and expressed repentance for their mistake ¹

Similar statement in *Albarnama* regarding Rao Chandrasen ² —

' In 982 A H when the Emperor came to Ajmer, Rao Raisingh coming singly from Sewana prayed that Chandrasen, son of Maldev, had raised much disturbance in the boundaries of Jodhpur that the imperial army at Sewana was not adequate to suppress him, and that he can be suppressed if a strong reinforcement be despatched The Emperor very kindly accepted his request and deputed Tayyab Khan, Sayyad Begh Tokbai, Turk Subhanquli, Khurram, Azmat Khan, and Shivdas with some brave warriors for this purpose Chandrasen retreated in the mountain via Rampura The imperial army went in pursuit of him, many surrendered and many were killed Chandrasen could not resist Taking his retreat for his defeat the imperial army, through foolishness, returned When the Emperor heard this he was much incensed and lost confidence in those nobles '

Both the above narratives of Abul Fazal narrate similar events Again, in the *Muntakhibut tavarikh*,³ it is stated —

But they did not go after the Rana and he escaped alive, the Emperor took it ill '

This event is much more similar to that of Rao Chandrasen

A Special Event

The following story of Rana Pratap is current in Rajputana

On one occasion the Maharana greatly distressed by the miseries of his children, thought of acknowledging the supremacy of the Emperor But Prithviraj, brother of Raisingh (of Bikaner), being informed by Akbar, addressed the Maharana in the following lines —

पटकूँ मुँकाँ पाण, के पटकूँ निज तन करद,
दीने लिख दीवाण, दणदो मइली बात दक ।

¹ *Albarnama*, Vol III, page 195

² *ibid*, Vol III pages 110 111

³ *Muntakhibut tavarikh*, Vol II, page 235

THE JAIN TRADITION OF THE ORIGIN OF PĀTALIPUTRA

PURAN CHAND NAHAR, M A , B L

Like many other ancient cities of India, Pātaliputra has also a tradition of its own, about its origin. It is beyond any shadow of doubt that at one period, this city was in its most flourishing condition like Paris or New York of to day with all its splendours. Much has been written by various scholars of the East and West about several traditions, Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain, associated with this great city. Here I am giving only the Jain version of the origin in a few words and hope the same will not be out of place at the present happy moment when the All India Conference of Oriental Scholars from different parts of the country meets here in this ancient site of Pātaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks.

ORIGIN OF THE CITY PĀTALIPUTRA

King Srenika was reigning at Rājagṛha. He was also known as Bimbisāra and was succeeded by his son Kunika or Asoka Candra and better known as Ajātasatru. He removed his capital from Rājagṛha to Champā and was followed by his son Udāyī. After the death of Kunika, Udāyī was ruling in Champā, he did not like the city owing to several deaths in his family and was therefore advised by his ministers to found another city, his own father had given up Rājagṛha and had founded Champā for the same reason.

Udāyī then sent round some *nimittakas* (omen-readers) to discover an ideal place where he could lay the foundation of a new city. They selected a place on the shores of the Ganges where a Pātal tree stood majestically with a number of protruding branches. Worms flying themselves into the mouth of a Chāsh bird on the tree indicated the place as the most auspicious. In due course the *nimittakas* informed the king of their selection of the place, when an aged Nimittaka recited the following story about the Pātal tree —

‘Formerly there were two cities, one Southern Mathurā, the other Northern Mathurā. One Devdatta a trader of Northern Mathurā went to Southern Mathurā and became a friend of one

Muni drifted ashore at a certain place and there a Pātal tree grew from his skull '.

King Udāyī thereupon founded a city on the spot and called it *Pātaliputra*

The references to the above story of the origin of the city of Pātaliputra according to Jain tradition, may be found in —

1 Hem Candra's '*Parisista Paria*', Canto VI, verses 22-180.

2 *Āvasyaka Nirvyukti*, XVII 11 27

For other references, see,

3 *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, Vol V, p 823 '*Pādaluṭṭa*'

MALAKŪTA OF YUAN CHWANG

K A NILAKANTA SASTRI

Yuan Chwang's Account —Yuan Chwang's account of Malakūta has baffled many commentators and though the balance of opinion has been in favour of the identification of Malakūta with the Pāndya country, there still hangs some amount of uncertainty about the question, and no apology is needed for an attempt to re examine the subject in the light of the evidence from the literature and epigraphy of the Tamil country The main facts in the pilgrim's account of the country are well known, and from the point of view of this discussion they may be summed up as follows ¹ (1) the country of Mo-lo kiu-tcha (Malakūta) was 3000 *li* or so south of Kāñcīpura (Kin chi-pu lo) (2) It was about 5000 *li* in circuit, (3) the capital was about 40 *li*, the soil brackish and barren, the temperature hot, and the men dark complexioned, but firm and imperious in disposition Some followed the true doctrine, others were given to heresy They did not esteem learning much, but were wholly given to commercial gain Hinduism and Jainism (Nigranthas) were more flourishing than Buddhism of which many old convents were in ruins, including one built by Mahendra not far to the east' of the capital (4) On the south of this country, bordering the sea, are the Mo la ye (Malaya) mountains on which is found the white Sandalwood tree (5) To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mt Po ta lo kia (Potalaka), on the top of which is a lake, its waters are clear as a mirror From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain twenty times as it flows down and then enters the Southern sea (6) Going north-east from this mountain, on the border of the sea, is a town whence they start for the Southern sea and the country of San-kia-lo (Ceylon) Simhala is commonly said to be 3000 *li* to the south east of this port

The portion of the Chinese text corresponding to the foregoing summary is apparently not as trustworthy as the bulk of the itinerary², and it would be well not to look for even as much

¹ See Beal, *Buddhist Records*, II, 230 ff

² Watters—*Yuan Chwang*, II, 233

of the Pāndyas whose sway extended over all the territory that lay to the south of the Pallava dominion. If we accept the view that Yuan Chwang's Drāvīda and Malakūta were the Pallava and the Pāndya countries respectively,¹ there was indeed no intermediate country between these of which the pilgrim could tell us anything. It appears, therefore, right to follow the indication in the records to which Watters has drawn such pointed attention rather than the vague statement in the Life that Yuan Chwang was talking from hearsay.

The interpretation of the data—We are unable to say how far the indication of the distances and the bearings given by the pilgrim are to be accepted literally. Burnell who was among the earliest to discuss the identification of Malakūta² in the light of Tamil evidence felt that there was no means of controlling and checking these data given by the pilgrim. Cunningham in his *Ancient Geography*³ remarked that 3000 *li* to the south of Kāñcīpuram would take us far out into the sea to the south of Cape Comorin, and Hultzsch accepted that statement. On the other hand, Mr S N Majumdar is quite content to accept the 3000 *li* and remarks that 3000 *li* to the south of Kāñcīpuram will not take us so much to the south. 'The ancient road to the South of Kāñchī passed through Tirukōilur, Trichinopoly (Uraiyūr), Tanjore district and Kodumbai to Madura the Capital of the Pāndyas and this route makes up the distance of 3000 *li*'⁴ These remarks of Mr Majumdar are of course to be understood in the light of his discussion of the length of a *li* in his introduction, pp 111-113. But whether the distances given by the pilgrim work out so nicely as Mr Majumdar has it in this instance or not, one cannot have any hesitation in declining to follow the rather drastic emendation of the pilgrim's figures suggested by Cunningham. In a long and complex record such as that of Yuan Chwang's itinerary in a foreign country the indication of directions and distances must necessarily have been approximate.

¹ It is immaterial for the very limited purpose of this argument if the capital of Drāvīda was Kāñcīpuram as is usually believed, or Negapatam as Fergusson and Watters are inclined to think. *J R A S* (N S), vi, pp 265-7, Watters, ii, 227. But it is very difficult to accept Fergusson's view that the port of embarking for Ceylon to the N—E of Mt Potalaka was identical with the capital of Drāvīda.

² *Ind Ant*, VII, 39-40.

³ pp 628-30 (ed S N Majumdar Sastri, 1924).

⁴ *Op cit*, 741.

‘ Āyungunattavalōkitan
 pakkal Agattīyan kēt-
 tēyumbuvanikkīyambīya
 tīndamīl’

‘The sweet Tamil which Agastya expounded to a worthy world after learning it from Avalōkita of praiseworthy qualities’ What was Agastya’s hill ordinarily might, therefore, have been regarded as Avalōkita’s hill by the Southern Buddhists

The name Malakūta or Malayākūta is, indeed, unique and difficult to explain from the Indian side in that form, but in general, there seems to be no difficulty in accepting the pilgrim’s specifications as referring to different parts of the Pāndyan kingdom as it was in the days of his pilgrimage. His references to the barren nature of that part of the country, its active sea-borne commerce, the Malaya mountain and the Potalaka and the lake of clear water and the stream flowing from it and his reference to the port of embarkation to Ceylon which lay to the north east of that mountain—all these fit in well enough with what we know of the Pāndyan kingdom, of which the capital which he does not name but which was about 40 *li* in circuit was no doubt old Madura. It is quite likely that if a careful excavation is undertaken to the east of the site of the old city in the neighbourhood of the modern Madura, the pilgrim’s reference to the ruined *tope* and the monastery finds corroboration.

There is confirmation of the scheme of identifications upheld in this discussion from another Chinese writer. Writing towards the end of the 8th century A.D. Kia Tan says of Ceylon¹ that ‘its northern coast is 100 *li* from the south coast of Southern India. Then towards the west after four days’ journey we cross the country of *Mo lai* which is the extreme southern part of Southern India’. In this *Molai* we may perhaps recognise Malaya, the first half of Yuan Chwang’s Malakūta, and Kia Tan’s testimony is valuable because of its definite statement that the country of *Mo lai* was the extreme south of Southern India.

¹ *B E F E O*, *iv*, p. 359

AN INSCRIPTION OF ALAUDDIN HUSSAIN SHAH
KING OF BENGAL OF 1509 10 A D AT
NAWADAH NEAR BARH IN
PATNA DISTRICT

SYED MOHAMMAD, B A , B L

Alauddin Hussain Shah who ruled from 1498 to 1521 was 'with the exception of Ilyas, the greatest of the Muslim kings of Bengal'¹ 'This great and good king extended his empire into Orissa, into Assam, into Chittagong'² and ruled over Bihar. He is even now a-days remembered by the people, the numerous legends and stories current in the villages of Bengal, refer to the times of Hussain Shah, the Good. Even the Geography of the country re-echoes his name. The Parganah of Husainabad in Gaur district, the Masjid Hussain Shah in Ghoraghat, Hussain Shahi in Sarkar Bazuha (Mymensingh), the Parganahs of Husainpur and Husain Ujyal in Sarkars Sharifabad and Sulaimanabad remind us of his name. In the south of Bardawan especially and in the north of the present district of Hughli, Husain Shah plays a leading part in the legends of peasantry. In Mayapur which lies west of Chinsurah in the Parganah of Bhairah about 7 miles from the right bank of the Damodar, a masjid and a tank still exist, which were completed by Hussain Shah, and about 12 miles north-east of Mayapur there is a village Shah Husainpur which was called so to perpetuate his memory'³

Alauddin Hussain Shah was one of those Indian kings who were great builders. His mosques, madrasas and other works of public utility are found throughout his dominion. Various inscriptions of this king have been found at Gaur and Pandua, the mediæval capitals of the Muslim kings of Bengal. At Gaur the inscriptions are found on the gateway of the famous Qadam Rusal mosque,⁴ the gate of the fort,⁵ mosques of Sikandar Khan⁶ and of Wali Moham-

¹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III, p 270

² *Reazusalatn*, English translation, p 130 notes

³ *P A S B*, 1870, p 112

⁴ *E G A*, Glazier—*Report on the District of Rangpur*

⁵ *J A S B*, Vol XLII, 1873, p 295

⁶ *J A S B*, Vol XI, part I, 1871

The inscription which is given below is in a mosque at Nawadah an insignificant village near old Barh and about a mile and a half from the present town of Barh in Patna district. It is not in the position where an inscription ought to be but has been affixed indiscriminately outside the mosque towards the west. The present mosque measures only 44 feet by 15 feet, has a roof of corrugated iron sheet and occupies only a portion of the raised platform about 150 feet long by 110 feet broad. The platform now contains the tomb of a saint and there are several other graves on it. It seems that the whole platform formed the plinth of the mosque and the present structure was constructed after the original gave way. The roof of the present mosque being of iron sheets supported on wooden pillars, it was not possible to affix the slab in the front and as both the Hindus and the Muslims of the locality rub the stone frequently to apply in mumps and kindred diseases, it was found convenient to place it outside the mosque. It is unfortunate that thus they have disfigured the date portion of the inscription which could be deciphered only after a photograph was taken.

The inscription which is on a black stone 3 feet 4 inches by 1 foot 5 inches is in Arabic and Tughra character. It commences with the famous saying of the Prophet 'God will make for him a house like it in heaven, who will build a mosque for God' which with a little variation is found on all the inscriptions of Alauddin Hussain Shah's mosques. It is followed by the name of the king and has 916 A H = 1509-10 A D as the date of construction.

Inscription

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجداً لله بني الله له بيتاً مثله
في الجنة بني هذا المسجد الجامع السلطان المعظم والمكرم علاؤ الدنيا والدين
أبو المظفر حسن شاه السلطان بن سيد أشرف الحسيني حلد الله ملكه وسلطانه في
سنة تسعمائة وستة عشر *

Translation

The Prophet may the blessing of God be on him and peace said 'God will make a house for him like it in heaven, who will make a mosque for God'. This Jama mosque was built by the great and gracious king, Sultan Allauddin a Waddin Abul Mozaffar Hossain Shah, the son of Syed Ashraful Hossaini, may God perpetuate his dominion and rule—in the year 916

VISVĀMITRA IN BIHAR

A BANERJI SASTRI

Visvāmitra is perhaps, the most provoking figure in the Vedic literature¹. He has stimulated a number of controversies. Alive, he foisted Trisanku² and brought on the latter's doomed head the wrath of orthodoxy; dead and gone these millennia, his memory haunted Pargiter,³ and roused against him the ire of established Indology.⁴ After over forty years' unbiassed study of Vedic geography, Pargiter found no trace of the so called Indo Aryan invasion of the Punjab; instead, he founded his 'mid-Indic' beginning, and a Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya tradition.⁵ Recent discoveries in the Indus valley and the Gangetic valley are crystallising opinion, and even Sir John Marshall⁷ is viewing with increasing concern an eastern direction of early culture.

Thus, the moment is not inopportune to investigate Visvāmitra's testimony to pre history in the Gangetic valley, with special reference to the remains recently excavated at Buxar by the present writer, under the auspices of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at the expense of the Local Government.⁸

This short note will raise only three questions —

I What was Visvāmitra's connection with Bihar?

II Who were the people whom he found already settled in Magadha?

III To whom belong the prehistoric remains at Buxar?⁹

I It is not necessary to recapitulate old data, so conveniently summarised in the *Vedic Index* (by Macdonell and Keith), Vol II, pp 310-12. They may however, be arranged in a new combination. Visvāmitra's father was Gāthī (*At Br*, vii 18, *Sarvāṇukramanī*), son of Kusika (*Rv*, iii 33, 5, *Nirukta*, ii 25), who gave the name to

¹ *Rv*, Mandala, iii

² *Rv*, i 57 Tait Up, i 10

³ Pargiter, *A I H T*, pp 301-2

⁴ Keith, *J R A S*, 1914, p 1021

⁵ Pargiter, *ibid*, Preface

⁶ Pargiter, *J R A S*, 1914, pp 411 ff

⁷ Marshall, *The Times of India*, Bombay, 1928

⁸ For a discussion on the finds, see Pathak Commemoration Volume, 1930 *Remains of a Prehistoric Civilisation in the Gangetic Valley*, by A Banerji Sastri

⁹ *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Shahabad, 1906, p 132

government under their own king, Pra maganda, possessing riches, in cities like Naicā-sākhās,¹ that roused the prudently restrained cupidity of their Aryan neighbours —

- (i) They were pre Vedic
- (ii) pre-Aryan
- (iii) prosperous and peaceful
- (iv) named their cities after trees

Sir John Marshall claims all four characteristics for the discoveries in the Indus valley —

- (i) 'a most important phase of Indian civilisation, which shows close affinities with the contemporary Sumerian civilisation of Mesopotamia this great civilisation which is now being revealed was no mere provincial offshoot of Mesopotamian culture, but was developed for countless generations on the banks of the Indus itself and its tributaries of a pre Aryan people whose culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millennium B C by the invading Aryans from the north'²
 - (ii) 'a link between Vedic traditions and the chalcolithic civilisation of the Indus valley is suggested by the heads of the stone statuettes found at Mahenjo daro, which represent magicians in a pose of *dhyāni yoga*, the *Yoga* arose among the non-Brāhmanic or pre Aryan peoples of the Indus valley, and was originally alien to Brahmins'³
 - (iii) 'the cult of the *Pīpal* (*ficus religiosa*) tree' is proved by Mahenjo daro terra cotta tablets
- This leads to the next question⁴

¹ An excess of ingenuity has been wasted on the word *Naicāsālha*, (*Rv*, iii, 53, 4), cf *Vedische Myth*, i, 148, 2, 2415 the latest being Charpentier, *J R A S*, 1930, and Thomas interesting note, *J R A S* 1930, p 894 The most obvious meaning is given by Sāyana, in his *Introduction*, p 4—as the name of a 'city associated with a tree' accepted by Macdonell, *Ved Ind*, Vol II, p 38

² Marshall, *Illustrated London News*, Sept, 1924

³ Barnett on Chanda's *Survival of the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus valley*, *Archæol Surv Ind*, No 41, *J R A S* October, 1930, p 938

⁴ *Archæol Surv Ind*, 1924-25, pp 62 65, Plate XXII, fig a

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE
MARATHA INVASIONS BETWEEN 1740 AND 1765
ON BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA

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The Maratha irruptions were perhaps the most calamitous events in the history of Bengal during these few years (1740-'65). Their influence was felt, more or less, in every sphere of life whether economic, social or political. It is a mistake to think that the depredations of the Marathas were directed only against important cities and towns and that they ceased with the beginning of the rainy season. We have it on the authority of Gangārām¹ and the authors of *Seir ul mutakherin*² and *Ryaz-us-salatīn*,³ as well as certain letters to the Court of Directors preserved in the Imperial Records Department, that the interior villages in different parts of Western Bengal did not escape ravages and plunders at their hands. It is clear from these accounts that the cottages and dwellings of the poor and the middle class people living in villages were more miserably affected than the banking houses of Jagat Seth or the palace of Nowazish Muhammad in the metropolis. Jagat Seth's house had been plundered once only, but the houses of these poor villagers were burnt and their property and effects were looted from year to year.⁴ The Marathas used to stop their military operations only in the direction of actual fights and sieges with the outbreak of the rainy season, but their plundering activities were then carried on more vigorously than before.

The *economic effects* were varied, and may be studied broadly under two heads, firstly, the effects on the general economic life of

¹ *Mahārāstrapurān*, lines 447-461

² Vol I, p 395

³ p 343

⁴ 'Several bodies of them (the Marathas) appeared again about Radhanagur and Midnapur plundering those places and adjacent villages'—Letter to the Court, dated 8th January, 1742 I R D (H M) 'The Nabob was within 3 coss of Muxadavad the 22nd December (1745) and the Marattoes had burnt the Towns over against the Muxadavad and several villages about them'—Letter to the Court, dated 31st January, 1745 I R D (H M)

all the foreign markets, particularly at the Western ports of Judda Mocha and Bussorah' ¹⁰

Agriculture also was not left unaffected,¹¹ and the prices of rice grains and other provisions went up¹² The Council in Calcutta wrote to the Court of Directors on the 3rd February 1746 'Rice so excessive Dear 30 seer only for a rupee, ordered the coarse not to be sold in the Buzar under a maund per Rupee, land Dutys on Grain and Rice taken off' ¹³ About the same time the weavers at Balasore 'could get only 10 seer rice for a rupee',¹⁴ and this state of things continued there for many years In January 1753, Mr McGuire, Chief of the Company's Factory at Bulrumgurrhy, wrote to the Council in Calcutta that 'several of the weavers who resided at Ballasore have brought their looms into the Factory, and the few who remain declare they shall be obliged to throw in theirs and quit the place on account of the great scarcity of rice and provisions of all kinds occasioned by the devastations of the Marattoes, on which account' he requested the Council to send him 15 000 or 2 000 maunds of rice on the Company's account ¹⁵ The native merchants were also put to great troubles and they were often chastised by the Company for their failure to supply the Company's investments according to previous contracts ¹⁶

The areas affected by the Maratha ravages suffered also some loss in ready money and bullion The bank of Jagat Seth alone was robbed of two and a half crores the amounts of realised rents were sometimes plundered by them on the way of their being carried to the Nawab's treasury ¹⁷ and the important market places were, once and again, deprived of their cash and stock ¹⁸ The ordinary people had to protect their lives by paying money to the Maratha soldiers Gangārām writes — 'Again and again they (the Marathas) demanded money of the people and poured water into the noses of some who failed to supply them with it, drowned others in the tank and instantly put many of them to death' ¹⁹ We cannot ignore Gangārām's state-

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p 152

¹¹ *Mahārāstrapurān*, lines 305 306

¹² *Ibid*, lines 231-241 Further details have been given in another monograph of mine on 'Markets and prices of articles in Bengal, 1740-1765'

¹³ Para 105, *I R D* (H M)

¹⁴ *Ibid*, para 67

¹⁵ *Consultations*, 1st February, 1753

¹⁶ Letter to the Court, dated 30th November, 1746 *I R D* (H M)

¹⁷ *Mahārāstrapurān*, lines 269 270

¹⁸ Holwell's *I H E*, p 195

¹⁹ *Mahārāstrapurān*, lines 350 356

the treaty of 1752)²⁶ cut off an important part of the Bengal Subah, causing thereby a permanent loss to its revenues. We must be, however, careful to note that Eastern Bengal was not adversely influenced by the invasions of the Marathas, as their ravages did not extend so far. On the contrary, the transportation of their wealth and property by the people of Western Bengal and the migration of many of the traders and manufacturers of that part to territories beyond the Ganges rather increased the prosperity of the latter, though this was largely discounted by the losses and disturbances caused by Mag and Portuguese piracies and incursions from the N & E by various hill tribes.

Thus, in the light of these foregoing facts, it may be asserted that the economic degeneration of Western Bengal began since the days of Alivardi (if not earlier, from Murshid Kuli's time). To hold that the misbehaviour of the Company's servants and Gomasthas was alone responsible for the decline of Bengal's manufacture and industry, and that this began immediately after Plassey, is to look at the thing from one end of it only. Nobody will deny that their conduct exercised a destructive influence on the industry and manufacture of Bengal, and that their oppression increased as a result of the power gained after Plassey. But this also is to be admitted that there were already some cankers eating into Bengal's economic vitality. Her capital, manufacture and agriculture had been disturbed and had lost respectively, their original strength, purity and productivity, when the dreadful storm of the Maratha invasions had blown over her soil. What the Company's servants did was that they carried this bad state of things to a worse one by their unjust and cruel treatment of the native traders, manufacturers and weavers.

The trade of the East India Company in Bengal also took temporarily a downward course. The historian Orme says, 'the Marattoes during the war made only one considerable depredation on the English trade (directly). This was in the year 1748 when they stopped a fleet of boats coming from Cossimbazar to Calcutta and plundered it of 300 bales of raw silk belonging to the Company. But the advantages of the European commerce in general were much

²⁶ *Seir ul mutakherin*, Vol II, pp 112 113, Orme's *History of the Military Transactions, etc*, Vol II, p 44

considering the merchants' balances for the last year (1745), there 'appeared due to them exclusive of their Gurrah contract Rs 209,562 8 0, and there appeared due from them on their contract for Gurrah (1742) Rs 16,149-12-9' ³⁴

The Marathas did not move from Cossimbazar till March, 1747, and the Chief of the Cossimbazar Factory wrote to the Council in Calcutta that 'the Marattoes still continuing near them, makes it impossible to send the bales down with safety' ³⁵ The resident at Balasore also wrote to the Council on the 25th January, 1747, that the encampment of Mir Habib at a distance of two miles from Balasore with 8,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry had put an entire stop to the Company's investment at that Factory because 'all the workmen had run away and the washermen were taken up to labour for Meerhabib, so that a great deal of cloth lies ready at the weaver's house and cannot be dressed' ³⁶ In 1751, a letter from Cossimbazar stated that 'the dearness of raw silk and silk piecegoods for some year past, they find, is owing to the Mahrattas constantly entering Bengal, plundering and burning the people's houses and destroying the Chief Aurungs from whence the workmen have fled to distant parts, and not to any malpractice in the gentlemen there' ³⁷ In the same year, Mr Henry Kelsal, resident at Bulrumgurry, informed the Council that the disturbances created by the return of the Marathas in that year had made him unable to purchase any ready money goods as the weavers or the greatest part of them had been obliged to abscond ³⁸ A similar complaint was made by Mr McGuire from Bulrumgurry in the year 1753 A D ³⁹

In society the influence of the Maratha invasions was felt in two ways —(1) on the composition of the population of the country, and (2) on the morals of the people. A large number of people, together with their belongings, had migrated from Western to Eastern Bengal or to the British settlement in

³⁴ Letter to the Court, dated 30th November, 1746, paras 7 and 9, *I R D* (H M)

³⁵ Letter to the Court, dated 22nd February, 1747, para 92, *I R D* (H M)

³⁶ *Ibid*, para 110

³⁷ *Consultations*, 9th December, 1751 A D, Letter to the Court, 2nd January, 1752 A D

³⁸ Letter to the Court, 5th February, 1751 A D

³⁹ *Consultations*, 1st February, 1753

Gangārām that during their invasions of Bengal the Maratha soldiers had lost their old 17th century ideal of respect for women and indiscriminate violation was the lot of the womenfolk of the plundered or runaway families in the interior of the country ⁴⁴

The Maratha invasions produced three important effects on the Political History of Bengal. Firstly, it created an opportunity for the rise of another danger for Alivardi and his kingdom in the shape of the rebellion of his Afghan Generals and their kinsmen of Behar. These Afghan Generals had served Alivardi with all their power during the first few years of his Governorship, but when his position was somewhat endangered as a result of the repeated attacks of the Marathas, they demanded from him the redress of certain grievances, and at last broke into open rebellion and fought in conjunction with the Maratha invaders ⁴⁵. They were actively incited and helped by the renegade Mir Habib and associated Marathas. Thus it may be said that of these two movements, the Maratha invasions and the Afghan rebellions—the former encouraged and indirectly hastened the latter, if it did not indeed create it.

Secondly, it led to the establishment of Maratha rule in Orissa, whose history took, henceforth, a new turn under the rulers of a Maratha dynasty ⁴⁶. We know from a number of sources ⁴⁷ that the Marathas in Orissa were very bad neighbours of the Company, not content within their own territory and sometimes carrying their arms into other parts of Bengal. They pressed the Bengal Government and the Company with the question of *chaut* till Orissa was conquered by the English in 1803 A D.

Lastly, the ready offer of shelter by the English to some of the ravaged and runaway inhabitants of the plundered areas of Bengal, within the bounds of the Company's settlement in Calcutta, engendered in the minds of these people a feeling of sympathy for and faith in the English Company. The English were able to raise a

⁴⁴ 'They capture the beautiful women and put ropes, tied with their thumbs, round their necks. When somebody leaves one of them, she is immediately caught hold of by another and *shout under the weight of consummation*' *Māhārāstrapurān*, lines 331–336.

⁴⁵ For details, *vide Seir ul mutal herin* and *Ryaz us salatn*.

⁴⁶ *Vide* Stirling, pp 89–94, Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol II, pp 30–36. Both the writers characterise Maratha rule in Orissa as 'fatal to the welfare of the people and prosperity of the country'.

⁴⁷ Dealt with in another monograph of mine.

THE KULASEKHARAS OF KERALA

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Kerala has come to occupy an important place in the field of oriental research. She gave to the world a number of dramas of an apparently new dramatic technique, which led to the postulation of the *Bhāsa Theory*, and though this theory has now been generally discarded, this has no doubt ushered in a large number of original papers on the subject of what may be correctly called the *Keralanāṭala cakṛa*. Her Samskrit theatre is a subject of absorbing interest, for here alone if at all, are found in living form the ancient Samskrit stage and the indigenous type of acting.¹ No less important is the script in which the so called Bhāsa's dramas are preserved, and a careful study of the same is ushering in new problems of *Prākṛtic* study.² These dramas do not exhaust her wonderful manuscript wealth. Other works equally important are being discovered and are being announced. Again she has made her own contribution to the make up of the wonderful Samskrit literature. Her numerous works and her brilliant authors form an altogether untrod field for research. And the history of her Samskrit literature has yet to be written.³ My study of the subject has suggested a few interesting problems of literary history, such, for instance, as the problems of Kulasekhara, of Vāsudeva,⁴ of Liṅāśuka and of Nārāyaṇa. There are indeed a number of other problems, but those appear to

¹ Vide my paper, 'Acting in Kerala', published in the Mythic Society Journal, Bangalore, Vol XII, Part II, pp 183-195. A monograph on 'Kerala Theatre' is being sent to the Press.

² Vide my paper on 'Samskrit and Prakrit in Arya Eluttu', published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Volume V, Part II, pp 307-11.

³ The writer gave a course of lectures on this subject under the auspices of the Madras University, and these lectures are being published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

⁴ An aspect of this is referred to in my paper 'Rāmakaṭhā—A Study', published in the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol V, Part IV, pp 797-801.

so also of the dramas,¹⁰ but the results achieved do not show that the final word has yet been said on the subject. I feel that the conclusions arrived at by the scholars who have worked on this topic have been vitiated to a certain extent by the fact that they concerned themselves with taking one Kulasekhara at a time and were trying to introduce an interpretation which was more or less demanded by their theories. And secondly, they were strangers to local traditions. These two facts have taken away much of the value of their speculations.¹¹ In this paper it is my object not so much to give the final word on this topic—for this there are not sufficient materials—as to show that the date of the Kulasekharas is after all not a settled fact, but that it is yet an open question, which deserves to be reconsidered.

One Kulasekhara figures as the author of the sweet devotional lyric, the *Mukundamāla*. Regarding its authorship, there can, indeed, be no two opinions, for the last verse explicitly says who its author was

Yasya priyau srutidharau kavilokavīrau
mitre dvijanmavarapārasavāvabhūtām |
tenāmbujāksacaranāmbujasatpadena
rājñā kṛtā kṛtīyam *kulasekharena* ||

Tamil scholars identify this Kulasekhara with Kulaśekhara Alvar, for, both are Vaiṣṇavites and have sung songs of devotion, and both hail from the royal family of Cera or Kerala. It is not, indeed, inconceivable that the same poet sang songs both in Sanskrit and Tamil, only it is not usually the case, especially in old days. Again there has been a lot of confusion between the terms Cera and Kerala. True it was that at one time the two terms might have been used as denoting the same country, for Kerala once formed a part of the Cera Kingdom. But it was not always the case, and we know that Kerala is never *correctly* called by the term Cera after the 8th century. Consequently, when a poet says that he hailed from the Cera royal family, it need not necessarily mean that he was a Malayāli. In other words, convincing evidence has not so far been adduced to prove the identity of Kulaśekhara Ālvar and the author of the devotional

¹⁰ I see MM T G Sastri's *Introduction to the Dramas*

¹¹ There is confusion in the consideration of the subject by Prof S K Aiyangar see page 41 of his '*Early History of Vaiṣṇavism*'

Coming to the work itself, one is forced to the conclusion that it does not come up to the high literary standard that a pious progeny has always been assigning to it. It must be conceded that the work is pervaded by a natural simplicity and an intense devotion which are possibly unrivalled. These two qualities, by themselves, cannot give it the high position that has been accorded to it by the South Indian Vaisnavites. What then is the reason that has given it this high position? A very interesting question no doubt. The spiritual and temporal position of the author may be one reason. Possibly this Kulasekhara, we incline to think, was the first royal convert to the Vaisnavite faith and the first South Indian to write a religious lyric in Samskrit. Such a view may go a long way to explain the great popularity of the work and the position it occupies in religious literature. It is interesting to note that the *Mulundamāla* is more popular among the Vaisnavite Tamils than among others, probably because in it may be discerned the seeds of that qualified monism which it was given to Rāmānuja to expound. In other words, this work might have formed the sacred text in Samskrit on which to propound a new school of thought. If this view has any pretence to correctness or acceptance, the author of the *Mulundamāla* is the first of the Vaisnavite Perumals who actively patronised the Vaisnavite faith to check Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala. This assertion of the orthodox religion on the part of the Emperor led the Buddhists to mobilise their forces, and this in its turn led to the blooming forth of genius of Prabhākara

per reading we have accepted, the term *Pārasūta* means *Varier*, one of the many varieties of *Ambalavāsīs*, and this would suggest that the king had two friends one a Brahmin and the other a *Varier*. One difficulty may be raised against the interpretation, the interpretation of the term *Srutadharau*. A *Varier* is not allowed to study the Vedas, and as such this adjective is inapplicable. In answer we have only to say that we may either assume that at that time there was not this taboo or accept a *śleṣa* in this expression. *Sruti* may be understood in the sense of the Vedas, and it could also be taken to mean music. The Brahmin friend of the king was well versed in the Vedas, while the *Varier* friend in music. The acceptance of this reading would raise one more question. Have *Ambalavāsīs* such a high antiquity? This appears to be a serious objection, but if we may take our stand on tradition, we may accept a sufficiently high antiquity for them, because our tradition makes the Yamaka poet, Vāsudeva, a *Nambiar*, another sect of *Ambalavāsīs*. It will be clear from what has been said that whatever readings we may accept, this last verse does not give anything historical.

orthodox party to mobilise their forces and try as best as they could to check the advance of this alien religion. When they found their efforts unavailing, they invited from outside a number of scholars six in number, to fight their Buddhist antagonists. All these were Bhāttas, and this is an indication that they were the disciples of Kumārilla Bhaṭṭa. The result of their work was to gradually wean the masses from falling away from the orthodox fold. These scholars met the Buddhists in argument and defeated them during the time of a Kulasekhara. And their most eminent disciple was the famous Prabhākara. In other words, this Kulasekhara appears to have been the first royal convert back to Hinduism and the first to actively espouse the Hindu cause. It is worth while to point out that Prabhākara was a Vaiṣṇavite, and it is possible that his patron also was a Vaiṣṇavite. Vaiṣṇavism probably was then the most popular cult, thanks to the work of the Ālvārs. As a result of the conversion of the Perumāḷ and his ardent partiality for Vaiṣṇavite Hinduism, his new faith, this Perumāḷ lavished his patronage on Prabhākara and his school and at the same time founded at least one temple, the temple dedicated to Śrī Kṛṣṇa at Trkkulaśekharapuram, a suburb of Cranganore, named after a Kulasekhara. In other words, a consideration of the religious traditions of the period leads one to the conclusion that the new cult had three distinct stages: the first was the conversion of the Emperor's sympathy from Buddhism to Hinduism, by converting him into an ardent Vaiṣṇavite, the second, the popularisation of the cult and the founding of the Vaiṣṇavite temples, the earliest of such temples being apparently the shrine at Trkkulaśekharapuram, and last, but not least, the founding of the mutt at Kumblam, a village about six miles from Ernakulam, for the intensive study of the Vedas and the Sāstras. The first President of this mutt was Prabhākara who acclaims a Kulasekhara as his patron and when we know that Prabhākara is before Saṅkara and not far separated from him, we feel we are more or less on safe ground, when we say that our Kulasekhara must have lived during the closing decades of the 7th century and the opening decades of the 8th century. This date is also borne out by the fact that sometime at this period there were come into the land some Buddhists from China ¹⁵ in case we assign this period to Kulasek-

¹⁵ *Vide* paper referred to in Note 14

Samkara, it is also reasonable to suppose that Kumārilla must have died before Prabhākara, because Samkara is more wroth with Prabhākara than with Kumārilla. He is unsparing so far as Prabhākara is concerned, probably because he was as good as his contemporary and also hailed from the same *grāmam* ¹⁶. The date of Samkara has been fixed with a fair degree of certainty to the close of the 8th century and that means we may assign Prabhākara to the opening years of the same century. Kumārilla might have passed away about the middle of the period, and Mandana, a latter-day disciple could have lived to become the disciple of Samkara and to live even after him, especially because the latter had but a short span of life. The same view is still further borne out by the fact that Sakti-bhadra, a disciple of Samkara, was a follower of the Kumārilla school, and this means that he must also have been connected with the original Bhāttas who came and introduced the Mīmāṃsa Philosophy into Kerala. I would, therefore, believe that Sakti-bhadra was the last of the disciples of the Bhāttas, while Prabhākara belonged to the first batch. And this view again suggests the first half of the 8th century as the date of Prabhākara.

Now to sum up the Vaiṣṇavite Perumāl of Kerala, the author of the *Mulundamāla*, was the first to assert himself against the rise of the Buddhists. He espoused the Vaiṣṇavite cult, composed a sweet lyric, built Vaiṣṇavite temples and patronised the revival of Sanskrit studies in the land which led to the discovery of the genius of Prabhākara, and this Perumāl must have graced the throne in the last decades of the 7th and the early decades of the 8th century.

Now we shall proceed to the consideration of the other Kulasekharas. Vāsudeva, the author of the *Yudhisthira-Vijayam*, mentions a Kulasekhara as his patron, and traditions make Lilāsuka a contemporary of a Kulasekhara. The date of Lilāsuka can with some amount of certainty be fixed, for our traditions make him the contemporary of Samkara and the successor of Sureśvara on the pontifical throne at Tekke Madham at Trichur. In other words, he may be assigned to the latter half of the 8th century. The opening

¹⁶ *Grāmam* means a Unitary Brahmin Colony. There were originally 64 such *grāmams* in Kerala, 32 in *Malanad* and 32 in *Tulunad*, and every Nampūtiri must belong to one or other of the first 32 *gramams*. One such *gramam* is *Panniyūr grāmam*, and both Prabhākara and Samkara belong to this *gramam*.

ing from the 10th to the 12th century The 10th century-and after view was first suggested by the late lamented MM G Sastri and this view has gained strength by the acceptance of the same by Prof Keith ¹⁹ In the light of the internal evidence furnished by the works themselves, this date cannot be accepted, and, not only that, MM Sastri's date has no conclusive arguments to support it, except his fondness for his own Bhāsa theory

• From the prologue of Kulasekhara's dramas it will be found that the poets then familiar and popular in Kerala were Sūdraka, Kālidāsa, Harsa and Dandin,²⁰ while the poets Bhāsa, Bhavabhūti and Saktibhadra were unknown to him The absence of reference to Bhāsa is inexcusable, if his works were known to him, and these works were popular on our stage In view of the reference to Dandin and Harsa, the absence of reference to Bhavabhūti gives us the latest limit to the date of this author, all the more so because there was some sort of intellectual intercourse between the North and the South of India after the time of Saṃkara Similarly the absence of all reference to Saktibhadra gives us the earliest limit Saktibhadra indirectly claims that he was the first South Indian to write a Samskrit drama, and his drama *Cūdāmanī* has been very popular on our stage If Kulasekhara lived after the time of Saktibhadra, surely he should have referred to the first Samskrit dramatist of Kerala—a dramatist not the least important, even when we regard him from the purely æsthetic point of view This absence of reference to him can therefore, mean only one thing, namely that Kulasekhara lived before Saktibhadra became well known It is also very strange that Saktibhadra should have suggested that he was the first South Indian dramatist if Kulasekhara had lived before him, Himself a Malayāli, he could not have said thus, if, when he wrote his drama, the dramas of Kulasekhara were popular The only possible method of reconciling the two positions would be to assume that the two dramatists were contemporaries, Kulasekhara older and Saktibhadra younger And they may have written their dramas almost at the same time Possibly Saktibhadra, being diffident of his own merits, did not care to announce his work that had to be

¹⁹ I H Q A reply to Prof Keith (*Vide* Note 6) The date of the dramatist is discussed in detail in that paper

²⁰ The context suggests that Dandin is a dramatist—a new piece of information

NEW LIGHT ON THE GUPTA ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM —THE SIGNIFICANCE AND APPLICATION OF THE TERM KUMĀRĀMĀTYA

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Of the administrative terms met with for the first time in the records of the Gupta Emperors, that of *Kumārāmātya* is one of the most important. It has been usually interpreted to mean 'minister of the Crown Prince¹,' although there has been forthcoming² another explanation of it as 'one who has been in the service of the king from the time when he was a boy'. Both these explanations are etymologically correct, the former evidently taking the term to be a *tatpuruṣa* compound, while the latter understands it as a *karamadhāraya*, and is supported by the parallel from *Kumārādhyāpaka* (Monier-Williams's Dict., 1909, s v) meaning 'a teacher while still a youth'. The former explanation, however, is not only more natural but is historically the only correct one, as the title *rāyāmāca* (Sans. *rājāmātya*) is found already in the records of the Sātavāhana period in Western India³. But whatever the etymological or historical origin of the term might have been, its true import in the Gupta administrative system can only be understood in the light of the context in which it occurs in the documents of this period. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta⁴ the *praśasti* is said to have been composed by Harisena, the *sāndhivigrahika Kumārāmātya* and *mahādandanāyaka*, who was a

¹ Cf. Fleet (CII, III, p. 16n), 'Councillor of the Crown Prince', Bloch (A S R, 1903 4, p. 103), 'Prince's Minister', Marshall (A S R, 1911 12, p. 52), 'Councillor of the heir apparent', Beni Prasad (*The State in Ancient India*, p. 296), 'minister of the Prince viceroy'. It is unnecessary to take serious notice of Prof. Bhandarkar's tr. (EI, XI, p. 176n) as 'the princes, the noble lords'.

² Bloch in EI, X, p. 50.

³ Cf. the Nasik Cave inscription (EI, VIII, S, No. 19) recording a donation by the daughter of a *rāyāmāca*.

⁴ Fleet, CII, III, No. 1. The words in the original are *etac ca / āryam eśhā meva bhaktārakapādānām dāsasya samīpaparīsarppan anugrah onmūlita mateh—sāndhivigrahika-kumārāmātya mahādandanāyaka-Harisenasya*.

Bloch's descriptive list of these seals¹ No 20 (represented by two specimens) reads —

‘*Tirabhukty-uparik ādhikaranasya*’

while No 22 (of which there are six specimens) reads —

‘*Tira-kumārāmāty ādhikarana*’

On the analogy of the Dāmodarpur plates Nos I and II above-mentioned we may take them to refer respectively to the *uparika* in charge of the Tirabhukti province and the *kumārāmātya* stationed at the district head quarters called Tira. Of a somewhat peculiar character is the seal No 200 in Spooner's descriptive list of clay seals discovered by him subsequently at Basarh². On it are written in characters of the 4th or 5th century A C the words —

Vaisālīnāma kunda kumārāmātyādhikaranasya

This may be translated as ‘of the office of the *kumārāmātya* at the Kunda called Vaisālī’, but of the place indicated by the phrase *Vaisālīnāma kunda* we cannot form any idea.

We may now proceed to consider the significance of the legends on certain other seals found by Bloch in the course of his excavations at Basarh. In Bloch's classified list to which reference has been made above Nos 4, 5 and probably 9 bear the legend —

‘*Yuvarāja pādīya kumārāmāty ādhikarana*’,

and Nos 6 and 7 have—

‘*Śrī-yuvarājā bhattāraka-pādīya kumārāmāty-ādhikarnasya*’

while No 8 reads—

‘*Śrī paramabhattāraka pādīya kumārāmāty ādhikarana*’³

These legends were translated by Bloch respectively as follows —

‘His Highness, the Yuvarāja, the Chief of Princes’ Ministers’, ‘(Seal) of His Highness, the illustrious Yuvarāja and Bhattāraka, the Chief of Princes’ Ministers’ and ‘His Highness, the illustrious Paramabhattāraka, the Chief of Princes’ Ministers’. These versions are contrary to the rules of grammatical construction and the accepted meanings of the terms in question. *Adhikarana* is a well-known term meaning a Court of Justice or an office and is not

¹ A S R, 1903 4, p 109

² A S R, 1913 14, p 134

³ Op cit, pp 107 8

now considering ? Probably the clue is furnished by the inscription on one of the seals discovered by Sir John Marshall at Bhītā in 1911-12,¹ which reads —

*Mahāśiṣapati mahadandanāyaka-Viśnurakṣita-pādānudhyāta-
kumārāmātya ādhīśaransya*

The term *pādānudhyāta* is regularly used in the Ancient Indian inscriptions to indicate the relation of a feudatory or an official to his suzerain, or that of a son or younger brother to his superior.² As in this case the first sense is out of the question and the second is improbable. We have to apply the last meaning. Thus the whole inscription would probably mean that the *kumārāmātya* in question was the son of Viśnurakṣita, the Chief Cavalry Officer and Commander in chief. Evidently the *kumārāmātya* thought his office to be so unimportant that he preferred to be known even in his official capacity by his relationship to his father who held a distinguished position. If this argument has any weight, it follows that the legends *Yuvārāja pādīya-kumārāmātyādhīśarana* and the like on the Basarh seals refer similarly to the *kumārāmātyas* who were related probably as sons to the Crown-Prince and the Emperor.

A few references in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries enable us to trace the application of the term *kumārāmātya* in the period of decline and fall of the Gupta Empire. The

232 G E

Amauna plate of the Maharaja Nandana of ————³ introduces us
551-2 A C

to a prince who styles himself *deva guru-pādānudhyāta / umārāmātya*. The omission of all references to the name of the paramount sovereign shows that in the final spot of the inscription (comprised within the modern Gaya district) he reigned practically as an independent sovereign, while his use of the well-known official designation of the Gupta period probably shows that like the Nawab Viziers of Oudh during the decline of the Mughal Empire, he retained the official title which had belonged to his ancestors under the Gupta Emperors. More significant, still, is the evidence of the record of Lokanātha, who reigned in East Bengal in the latter half of the seventh century A C probably as a feudatory of the later Guptas.⁴

¹ A S R., 1911-12, p. 52

² Cf. Fleet CII, III, p. 17n²

³ EI, X, 12

⁴ EI, XV, 19

THE KŌSAR THEIR PLACE IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

(A SUMMARY)

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There are a number of stanzas in the Sangam works which mention a class of people known as the Kōsar who were lovers of truth and justice. The term Kōsar admits of different interpretations and if it could mean a tribe it is likely that it was a foreign tribe different from the Tamils. Various conjectures have been made in this direction. The Kōsar have been identified with the Yavanas or the Greeks, the Kushans, the Sātpute families of several castes near Poona, the Pallavas of Kāñei, the Sathiamangalam Tamil Brahmans known as Brhat carana, the Vadugar, consisting of Telugus, Kannadas and Tūlus, the Kongus and the Gangas and so on. There is still further interpretation that there were different classes of the Kōsar. Yet another ingenious explanation is that it refers to titles of offices like judges, commanders of the army, etc. The same vagueness attends the location of the territory occupied by their kingdom.

A re examination of the whole question shows that the Kōsar whatever be their origin, became Tamilized in course of time by marriage and other alliances with the three Tamil kingdoms, the Cōla, Cēra and the Pāndya. These three kingdoms find distinct mention in the *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant work of the Tamils. From this it is evident that the Kōsarnādu did not exist in the time of Tolkāppiyāṇār. Later on, in connection with the dedication of the temple to Pattinidēvi, the epic *Silappadikāram* mentions the kings of the five kingdoms who erected temples and celebrated festivals in her honour. These kingdoms are the Pāndya, Cōla, Kērala, Kongu and Ceylon. It is interesting to compare these with those in the inscriptions of Aśoka. According to the latter, five independent kingdoms existed on the southern frontier of the Mauryan Empire. These are the Pāndya, Cōla, Satyaputra, Kēralaputra and Tāmraparni. We easily identify the Kēralaputras with the Cēras, and the Tāmraparni with Ceylon. What is left is the Satyaputras and we have to take it

Section of Fine Arts.

President

AJIT GHOSE, M A

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THE NEED FOR MUSEUMS OF ART IN INDIA

AJIT GHOSE, M A

Remarkable growth of Museums of Art in the present century

The remarkable growth of new museums has been one of the outstanding features in the cultural life of the nations of the west in the present century. Indeed the development of museums in Europe and America can be truly said to have been phenomenal. Although in England the movement has made good progress, that country has been outstripped by both Germany and the United States. For Germany, that land of museums, it has been claimed that judged by the number and variety of its museums, it stands at the head of all countries of the world. As regards museums of art, from personal experience I can say that those who visit the United States cannot fail to be struck by the amazing number of its museums. Every city seems to have its museum and not infrequently there are several. Instances are not rare where people of culture in other countries know the name of a city only through its being associated with some great art museum. When recently the Director of the British Museum wrote that America has nearly a thousand museums, the President of the Metropolitan Museum of New York gently took him to task by saying that the number was not quite a thousand but in effect he said that it was something very near it.

Reasons for the development of the Museum idea in the United States

During a recent visit to America I was vividly impressed not only by the number of the museums of art, but by the imposing dignity of the buildings in which they are housed, the magnificent collections they enshrine and which are being added to from day to day and week to week, the efficient organisations which foster them and above all the marvellous public spirit to which they owe not merely their origin but their wonderful vitality and I often asked myself. What is the reason for this remarkable spread of the museum idea in this great free country? The answer is. It is the recognition by the most progressive people of the world at the present day that museums are a great force in the life of the nation—a powerful factor in its cultural uplift. I have been saddened by the reflection that this idea has not yet been realised in this land of ours.

museum by gift from its owner In England, too, a very great deal has been done for museums, even from the earliest days of such institutions, by private benefactors

What the Metropolitan Museum of Art has achieved

On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, the President of the Museums Association of Great Britain sent a congratulatory message in the course of which he said 'The remarkable achievements of the Metropolitan Museum, its marvellous growth, and the high value of its educational work are known to the whole world, the support which it has received from the citizens of New York and other benefactors has excited the admiration and envy of kindred institutions in other countries, the magnificence of its collections is only equalled by the abundant use which is made of these treasures We realise that the enterprise and activity of its officers and staff have enabled the collections to exert a profound influence in the intellectual development of the great city to which it belongs' These are high words of praise, which, however, do no more than set out truthfully what the Metropolitan Museum stands for and the support it receives from the enlightened citizens of New York When will any of our Indian museums be worthy of receiving a similar tribute? Yet sixty years ago when this great institution was founded it took two years to collect \$250,000 with which to make a start To day the cost of administration alone of the Metropolitan Museum is over \$1,636 472 annually and it has a yearly income of over \$500,000 consecrated solely to purchases It receives a civic grant of \$479,112, it realises in subscriptions from its members \$140,960 and from the sale of publications, including photographs and casts, and from fees received for various services \$73 802 05

What public spirit can accomplish shown by the Boston Museum

Although the Metropolitan Museum receives a handsome contribution from the city budget, all museums in the United States are not equally fortunate The second largest museum for example, the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston, receives no grant from civic funds Yet the Boston Museum levies no toll on the public in the shape of entrance fees as some of the continental museums do—the Louvre for instance A little over a decade ago, the President of the Boston

ducing it here 'In a complete scheme of University studies, the history of the Fine Arts in their relation to social progress, to general culture, and to literature, should find a place, not only because architecture, sculpture and painting have been, next to literature, the most important modes of expression of the sentiments, beliefs and opinions of men, but also because they afford evidence, often in a more striking and direct manner than literature itself, of the moral temper and intellectual culture of the various races by whom they have been practised, and thus become the most effective aids to the proper understanding of history

We need to quicken the sense of connection between the present generation and the past, to develop the conviction that culture is but the name for that inheritance, alike material and moral, that we have received from our predecessors and which we are to transmit with such addition as we can make to it, to our successors' The importance of the museum as a factor in education has been recognised by many well known universities by associating with themselves museums As notable examples of university museums, the great museum of Pennsylvania University at Philadelphia and the Fogg Art Museum at Cambridge, Mass., may be cited Of the latter it has been said 'The building is more than a museum, lectures, research, drawing, painting, all the varied functions of the Department of Fine Arts of Harvard University are carried on within it The controlling desire is to have representative works of art immediately available for study and this aim has been achieved in method and material

Our present day education in India has made us even more materialistic than the west We have eyes only for our narrow material wants The spiritual side of our nature has become dulled This was strikingly shown in the course of a debate in the U P Legislative Council in 1927 on a motion to establish an Art Gallery in Lucknow, when the argument advanced against it that carried most weight was that it was an *unnecessary luxury* The west, however, has now been convinced that art galleries and museums far from being luxuries are as necessary as colleges and universities for national uplift Truly has it been said that 'on every occasion the effect of a proposed measure on the soul and spirit must be taken into account as well as the effect on the purse'

The museum of art is the greater university to which we pass through the portals of our schools and colleges to find that 'joy and inspiration which only beauty can give', and which will guide us on our way to the fuller life of useful citizens of the world. Art has a human interest for all. It is not something which one goes to satisfy a curiosity by looking at—it is something to be absorbed into one's daily life. It is the connection between art and life which should be brought home to everyone. The aim of every museum of art should be not to segregate art within its walls but 'to distribute art through life'.

Museum purposes

In the present conception of museum purposes what is of paramount interest is service to the community as opposed to the old conception that the *raison d'être* of museums was the preservation and exhibition of objects. Unfortunately it is the latter view which seems to be the only point of view from which museum officials in India regard their charge. That is the point of view which the two Museums Conferences, held in India in 1907 and 1911, show and certainly there have been no changes noticeable in museum methods in this country since. Such an attitude is out of date in the west. The museum curator regards himself as a servant of the public—a servant who can make a great contribution to the educational and intellectual life of the nation. Not only can he help the scholar and artist, as he probably often does, but he can add an inch to the height of the man in the street by making him feel an interest in things which he could not comprehend although they excited his curiosity—making him desire to know, and perhaps awakened a far away response in the sense of beauty latent in his soul. And when these things shall teach him that beauty is his heritage, they will add to his dignity, not only as a thinking being but as a self-respecting unit in the nation, for a museum of art is a historical record of the achievements of the nation. It will teach him as well to respect other nations through a knowledge of their achievements. Thus the museum will cease to be merely a place for relaxation and amusement and will become a powerful humanising influence. In this connection the dictum of a great museum authority that 'Every form of instruction or experience which teaches men to link their lives with the past makes for stability and ordered progress', might be commended to the notice of politicians and statesmen.

dignified by the name of museum of art. None of the old established museums was intended to be, nor is in fact, a museum of art. The Madras Museum has a fine collection of South Indian sculptures and bronzes, but otherwise it can lay no claim to be a museum of art. The Lucknow Museum is in the same position with its important collection of Mathura sculptures. The collection of sculptures of the Lahore Museum is confined to Gandhara, it has an art section with a good collection of Kangra paintings. The Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay would have made a promising art museum, notwithstanding its poor collection of Indian paintings—poor as regards quality—if it had not attempted to be a natural history museum as well. Among all the museums in India the archæological collection of the Indian Museum in Calcutta is alone fairly representative and is of æsthetic importance. At the same time its collection of old Indian paintings, though not fully representative, is, thanks to Havell, rich in its Moghul section and, thanks to Percy Brown, it has also a fine collection of Kangra paintings. Its industrial art section, which is so overcrowded that there is no proper display, has some very choice examples of Indian Art. But, however fine the collections may be, they are still capable of very considerable expansion even for a museum devoted to India alone, whereas to grow into a great museum of art the collections should embrace every country. Our museums, which are mostly combined museums of Indian art, ethnology and natural history, have with their meagre funds attempted to do too much and have succeeded in doing but little. For the most part they are ill-organised and under-staffed. They have the slenderest funds for fresh acquisitions and they have no space for expansion. As I have already said the great potentialities of museums in the field of educational and cultural uplift have been very imperfectly, if at all, understood.

Loss to India caused by absence of Museums of Art

If there had been a single great museum of art in India functioning in accordance with western conceptions of the aim and scope of museums of art, many treasures would never have been irrevocably lost to this country. If you want to admire the finest Amaravati sculptures you must visit the British Museum, if you want to see the greatest Gupta bronze, you must go to Birmingham, so also if you want to see the wonderful miniatures of the Buddhist

been designated the 'pyramidal type' has been suggested as the type of museum building for the future. It has been thus described: 'This would be a building offering practically unlimited basement storage space with quantities of material readily accessible to everyone—a ground floor devoted wholly to reserve exhibitions of collections and to studies, and a main floor, consisting of galleries giving emphasis to single objects or groups of fine small objects, with all the space they need. In such a museum the building itself might be limited to any size deemed the reasonable maximum without prejudice to the increase of the collections. All its contents would remain visible—those (permanently or temporarily) of most importance on exhibition—those (permanently or temporarily) of secondary importance in the reserves, and an increasing number in accessible storage rooms. Growth might take place indefinitely by the removal of objects from exhibits to reserves and then to storage.'

Principle of selection for Museums

As regards the guiding principle in the selection of museum specimens, it is wide range with high quality and not quantity. This cardinal principle is consistently observed by museum officials in the west now.

Museum Officials

A word must be said as to the type of men who should be the heads of museums, who are to build up their collections and who are to make the influence of the museums under their charge felt in the community. Art scholarship is rare in India but still there are art scholars available and it is these men, and they must be men of wide sympathies, who should have the direction of museums of art. But their hands must not be tied—they must enjoy considerable freedom of initiative. Such men can easily train their staffs on right lines. In this connection I will recall the observation of Sir William Flower, to whose term of office as Director the British Museum owed a great deal, that 'a museum depends for its success not on its buildings, not on its cases, and not on its exhibits, but on its curator.' Intimate contact with art not only of India but of all other countries will be possible in museums of art properly organised by directors of the type postulated and who can gainsay that such intimate contact is urgently needed and will be a power for good?

A FEW HINDU MINIATURE-PAINTERS OF THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

MOHAMMAD ABDULLAH CHUGHTAI

Miniature painting means illustrations in the manuscripts or other literary compilations, which specially in Persia and India were first adopted by Mohammadans in their books. The Mohammadans were next to Chinese who prepared paper and used it for preserving their writings. The Muslim artists who used to illustrate the MSS possessed many qualifications. They were calligraphists, guilders, painters, binders, etc., as it can be testified in the most early records of Mussalman's *Al Fakhirat*, etc. Moreover, we should be thankful to the European scholars who have afforded us a lot of compilations in the current century bearing ample informations in this respect.

As regards indigenous Indian Art and Literature we find its traces in the ancient fresco paintings and in the form of stone inscriptions or writings on palm leaves. These have never been surpassed in their excellence from the point of art, but we do not find any trace of any miniature painting in India before the advent of Islam. At the beginning of the Moghal Empire in India under Akbar, the Hindus had a hand in official affairs through his inter-communal policy which afforded them ample opportunity of obtaining best advantage of the Islamic culture which the Mohammadans had brought with them, specially in Art and Literature. Thus a Hindu coterie achieved prominence.

In the case of the art of painting we find many Hindu names among the artists employed in preparing the Persian manuscript of '*Amir Hamza*' under the guidance of Mir Sayyad Ali of Tabrez Judai and Khawja Abdus Samad of Shiraz who were the commissioned Persian artists for the special purpose at the court of Humayun. As the author of *Mathur ul-Umra* says in the account of the famous story-teller Darbar Khan (Vol II, p 3) 'to illustrate the Romance of Amir Hamza fifty artists of the Behzad school were employed under the guidance of Khawaja Abdus Samad of Shiraz and Mir Sayyad Ali of Tabrez Judai'. This pioneer work of art began in the reign of Humayun and was completed in the reign of Akbar. Its full description is given in many contemporary records (Oriental College, Lahore, *Mag*, 1925). A long list of the court artists of Akbar is provided in *Amir Albari* which includes both Hindus

doing their level best to link up old Fresco paintings of Indian caves with the present newly founded Rajput school, through Jain miniature paintings found in the Gujrati MSS of the 15th and 16th centuries, which seems to be very ridiculous. Had it been based on some sound definite bases we would certainly have gladly admitted its usefulness. It has no connection either in the tradition or technique or spirit of the art of Ajanta.

The great authorities on Eastern Art, such as Dr F R Martin Blochet, Migeon, Sakesian Bey, Mr Sarkar, etc, have unanimously disapproved it. I quote here the opinions of Martin, Sarkar, and Sakesian Bey which are, I think, quite sufficiently convincing —

Dr Martin says — ‘The Rajput attribution has been exploited during the last few years and particularly by amateurs who have never seen a miniature of the great Indian period. Some writers on Indian art declare them to belong to the Rajput school and that they represent the genuine Indian Art descended directly from the art of the masters of Ajanta. It is a coincidence that these miniatures were first painted just at the period when European travellers, especially English travellers, went to India. It is specially in these decadent pictures that one recognises the different manner in which landscapes were represented by Persian and Indian artists’ (*The Miniature Painting of Persia, India and Turkey*, p 88)

Mr Sarkar says — ‘What Dr Coomarswamy calls the Rajput school of painting is not an indigenous Hindu product, nor has it any national connection with Rajputana’ (*Studies in Mughal India* by Sarkar, p 292)

Sakesian Bey says — ‘It is not to be forgotten that the art of painting on paper has been introduced into India by the Persian artists in the service of Timurede conquerors, that the first production in the Mughal school were the Persian works transposed in a new form and that the art of miniature of the Rajput does not seem to have existed in India before the Grand Mughals. It is indeed strange that one should not recognise in this national school that which one would ascribe to the Frescoes of Ajanta, a work anterior to the 16th and perhaps even of the 17th century. The types and costumes, and religious manners should have inevitable affinities but nothing appears to be less certain than the derivation of the Rajput miniatures from the Frescoes of Ajanta which are remote from each other by a thousand years’ (*La Miniature Persane*. Introduction, p X)

a little further, I can find out other points like these, but I contend on these bare Islamic signs which is a proof sufficient to say that the Miniature painting produced in India was thoroughly influenced by the Mohammadans

Mr N C Mehta has referred to a unique Gujrati MS of *Isanta Ilā'a*, a scroll on cloth, dated 1451 A D (in his book '*The Studies of Indian Painting*', Chapter II) which has 79 paintings, a form of Mural-painting which was prepared during the reign of Ahmed Shah Kutub ud-din of Gujrat (855 863 A H = 1451 1458 A D) Mr Mehta is himself mistaken here in pointing out the oversight of the scribe of the MS referred to, who is perfectly right as regards the dates of the reign of Kutub ud din Mr Mehta has shown in it some prominent and dominant points of Islamic culture, which I have noted above in the Jain paintings of the Lahore Museum Though this MS has been prepared after one and a half centuries of the Muslim rule established in Gujrat, yet we find that Musalmans had influenced deeply the life of the people of Gujrat, which is evident in their specimens of art But Mr Mehta says that at that time Behzad the renowned artist of Persia was not present, i e Persian painting was not in existence How funny it is I attribute it to the weakness of Mr Mehta's knowledge of Islamic Art Mr Mehta should be aware of the fact that we have still in existence the Persian illustrated MSS even of the eleventh century—rather earlier than it I think the study of Martin's, Blochet's and of others' works will reveal everything to Mr Mehta This is wholly the fault of the Mohammadans who never troubled to divert their attention towards it The Europeans alone have done something with respect to the authenticity of the Islamic Art itself which struck them from time to time It will also be of an immense interest to you that my dear friend, Mr Apt Ghose of Calcutta, a great collector of the day, very kindly showed me his unique MS of Behari Lal's Satsaiya, illustrated by Sheikh Asanullah, written for Jagat Singh and compiled on Friday, the 5th day of the dark fortnight in Baisakh, 1741 = about 1680 A D This is the reason why the Mohammadans are regarded pioneers in miniature painting in India, they alone were the artists who taught it to their neighbours

All the writers admit the direct influence of Mughal painting on the Rajput painting, which they regard as an obligation towards us on their part I think they should say as Mr Migeon says —

Nain Sukh—Nikka—Ram Lal—Pandit Sev—Gohu—Sharvates—Manku—Chaitu—Khushahl—Kama—The portraits of all these artists can be seen in the Lahore Central Museum Gallery

Gouhar Su'hae whose two best specimens of work are found in the unique collection of Mr Chughtai, the famous artist of world wide repute These are the finest specimens of Indian painting of the period He generally signs in Persian character in shakasta hand (Sakht Gauhar Suhae, i.e. by Gauhar Suhae on the back of the pictures I am trying to compile a separate monograph about the characteristics of the style of this artist

Sham Dass—Chandar Chalatar—Shisham Chalya—Whose specimens of work I have seen in the rare and fine collection of Prof Agha Haider Hassan of Nizam College, Hyderabad, Deccan

Raj Har Charan Dass, whom Mr Ghose, Calcutta, prefers to Mola Ram as regards technique and says the illustrations of Lila Gobinda are attributed to him (*Rup Lekha*) Mr Ghose has ventured to give some new names to some extent from his most valuable collections

Saju, referred to by Mr Ghose, who paints a scene in Hari Hath illustrations

Ram Dayal and *Kapur Singh* of Amritsar who used to paint snake charmer and kanphata jogi which is also referred to by Mr Smith

Kanuar Bichitra Shah (Mehta's books, p 56)

Mehra Chand of the 18th century guessed from the seal of Bahadur Shah of Delhi, 1211 A H = 1796 A D being found on the back of the picture (Kohenel, p 126)

Sahib Ram—*Mulundi Lal* (*Rupam* No 37)

Bhima—(Cat—Exhibition of Indian painting, Oriental Art Society, 1930, No 158)

At the end, I request the audience to favour me by adding new names to those given here

A NEW SPECIMEN OF SŪRYA FROM VARENDRA

(*Mārlanda Bharrava*)

KSHITISH CHANDRA SARKAR, M A , B L ,

Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi

Among many interesting specimens of sculpture deposited in the Museum of the Rajshahi Varendra Research Society, the attention of the scholars is drawn to a unique specimen recently acquired by this institution (through the joint efforts of Messrs Santosh Kumar Mukherjee and Dwijendra Kumar Chakravarti) The image under review has been recovered from a locality in the land of Varendra It is a sculpture in high relief on a stone slab measuring 3' x 1' 6½' almost in a fair state of preservation with slight mutilations The two forearms which held the lotus stalk are knocked off The face of the main figure and the crown both have undergone slight mutilations

The lower portion of the image is quite compatible with the image of a Sun god commonly met with in the museums But the middle and upper portion of the image in question exhibit peculiar characteristics rarely found in such images of Sun-god hitherto discovered The peculiar characteristics noticeable in this image, are that it is three faced, three eyed with *gatāmukhā* and six existing arms with *praharanas* or distinctive emblems in each hand From the broken off stumps of the arms it is presumed that the image was originally ten-handed The number of arms with the corresponding attributes in them and the representation of three faces only have made the type of this image a little complex Because the representation of five faces would be more in conformity with ten hands than the depiction of three or four faces (assuming one uncarved at the back) in it In its left hands the image holds a serpent (*nāgapāsa*?) a *damaru* drum, a *laumudī* or *nīlotpala* and a full-blown lotus and again in the right hands it holds a *khatvāṅga*, a trident, a *śālī* and a full blown lotus

The image has a pointed nimbus with a *kīrtimukha* at the top and two flying figures of Vidyādhara on two sides of it At the back it shows three lines of flames tapering towards the top and some lines of flames are also visible in the middle It is richly



*A new specimen of Sūrya—Museum of the Varendra Research
Society, Rajshahi*

and bad deeds of the people as Vīdhātā Purūṣa. But he is commonly known as Pingala. On the left of the image again stands a figure grasping the handle of a sword¹.

There are again two female figures holding the fly whisks in their hands. These are probably two of the four consorts of the Sun god, viz. Rājñī, Suvainā, Suvarcasā and Chāyā. On a *padma pīṭha* in front of the main image stands Goddess Earth—*Prthivī* or according to the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, *Mahāsvetā*. In front of this again is represented the thighless (*anura*) Aṇuna with wings and raised up locks of hair like those of his brother Garuda, driving a hexagonal (*sadasra*) chariot riding on a *malara*-head (chariot of Sūrya being *Makaradhvajā*). The pedestal is carved with seven horses which may symbolise the seven rays of the sun or the spectrum. Sūrya is also supposed to be the manifest form of the three vedas and as such the seven rays are accordingly interpreted to be the seven metres or *chandas* of the vedas. The seven metres are *Gāyatrī*, *Bīḥatī*, *Usnik*, *Jagatī*, *Anustubh*, *Panktī* and *Tristubh* (*Kūrma Purāṇa*).

The images of the Sun god hitherto discovered in Bengal are more or less alike in their essential features, but this image differs in respect of the number of faces, hands and *praharanas* or symbols in the hands.

Two types of Sun-gods are generally described in Sanskrit literature. According to the *dhyāna*, referred to in the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, the Sūrya has been described as —

पद्मासन पद्मकर पद्मगर्भदलद्युति ।
सप्तार्चरयसंख्य द्विभुजश्च सदागति ॥

Another type has been described in *Viṣvakarma Śilpa*—

एकचक्र सप्तार्च सप्तारचि महारथम् ।
हस्तद्वय पद्मधर कक्षकक्ष्मरचणम् ।²

निक्षुभा दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे राज्ञी प्रकीर्तिता
एकवक्त्राद्विती टण्डोत्कन्दस्तेज कराम्बुजम् ।²

¹ In the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, it is stated that Sūrya began to burn the *Aśuras* with his heat. The latter thereupon attacked Sūrya. The gods then felt bound to help Sūrya and with this object they placed Skanda or Danda, the Punisher of the wicked in the universe on the left and Agni which obtained the name Pingala on the right.

The *pīṭha-mantra* suggests that there may be a composite form of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Sūrya and the *dhyāna* referred to above also points out that such images should be provided with the *praharanas* or attributes, viz *khadīṅga*, *padma*, *calra*, *śaṭṭi*, *pāsa* *śini*, *akṣamālā* and *lapāla*. And that they should be four faced (*veda valtrābhīrāma*), and *trīnayana* or three eyed. Now this image conforms to the above description in having *khadīṅga*, *padma*, *śaṭṭi*, and *pāsa* (*nāgapāsa*?) in the form of a serpent or 'Sarpendu' (?) and the four hands being broken off it is very difficult to suggest if all the other attributes or some of the following, viz *calra*, *śini*, *akṣamālā* and *lapāla* were also exhibited befitting the symbols of Viṣṇu Brahmā and all the *praharanas* of Śiva or Bhairava. As regards the *veda valtra* or four faces it may be presumed that the fourth one being at the back need not have been carved out as it would not be quite visible. On the other hand even in the absence of that face representing a particular deity his peculiar symbols on the hands might have indicated his presence if all the hands were in a state of perfect preservation. The lowermost hands, however, might have been in *abhaya* and *varada mudrā* in conformity with the following *dhyāna* of Sūrya —

रक्ताङ्गयुग्माभयदानदक्ष

An image from Chidambaram (fig 144, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*) evidently represents a type of Sūrya with three faces probably representing Sūrya as composed of Brahmā, Mahesvara and Viṣṇu though the symbols held in the hands do not clearly indicate the same. Two of the fore hands have been represented as one in *varada* and the other in *abhaya* pose. It may be noted, however, that some worship the orb of the rising Sun as Brahmā, the creator, others the Sun on the meridian as Śiva, the destroyer and some regard the setting Sun as Viṣṇu the protector.

Raj Bahadur Hirala¹ in an article in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1918 'On Trimurtis in Bundelkhand' has tried to bring out the solar character of a three headed figure of Sūrya similar to the one mentioned above. Unfortunately the hands of the image are all broken off. The image under consideration is a little different, however, from the Chidambaram or Bundelkhand type of Sūrya in some details specially in respect of a bearded and fiercely looking face of a Bhairava. I am inclined to say, therefore, that the present image may represent a type of 'Mārtanda Bhairava' according to the *dhyāna* mentioned in the *Sārada-tīlaka* with minor variations.

Bengali Section.

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সংস্কৃত-ভাষা-বিভাগ-প্রাচ্য-বিদ্যালয়-কলিকতা

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS -

GENTLEMEN,

You have conferred upon me a signal honour by granting me an opportunity to address such a noble assembly of scholars. I fail to understand why you have chosen my humble self to shoulder this heavy responsibility when there are undoubtedly many persons who are better fitted for the task. For the last thirteen years I have been confined to the boundaries of my house, a victim of heart troubles, nervous debility, Asthma and the Bright's Disease. In spite of the sincerity and earnestness of my desire I have not been able to do full justice to the task to which you have called me, on account of the deplorable state of my health. Hence you will notice many drawbacks and shortcomings for which I crave your indulgence.

It is my purpose to-day to invite the attention of Oriental Scholars to some points connected with the subjects of the Institution of Caste and Antiquities of Bengal.

Certain persons hold the view that Bengal is not a very old country and that she cannot boast of an ancient civilization. In the *Dharmasūtra* of Baudhāyana even travellers are required to perform the rituals of 'Punastoma' or 'Sarvapūsthaṣṭi' as an expiation for a visit to Bengal. What can be the meaning of this theological ban?

From the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* it appears that the Aryan civilization was carried to Mithilā by Videgha Māthava as far back as the age of the Brāhmanas. According to the *Rāmāyana*, Amūrtaṛajā of the Lunar dynasty founded Prāgyyotisapura in the vicinity of Dharmāranya¹. Amūrtaṛajā is to be identified as the brother of the king Kuśanābha who is the grandfather of the great Viśvāmitra. Prāgyyotisapura now known as Gauhati, was the capital of Assam. The question now arises whether the view can be maintained that the Aryan civilization was shut out from Paundra or Bengal when it is found that the two neighbouring provinces of Mithilā and Assam had come under its powerful sway. The *Mahābhārata* says 'The learned men of Paundra, Kalinga, Magadha and Chedi are well

* By Prācyavidyāmahārṇava Rāi Sāhib Nagendranāth Vasu

¹ Vide *Rāmāyana* Ādikāṇḍa, Chap. 35

During this period, Paundra was ruled by Vāsudeva, Kausiki-kaccha by Mahaujā, Vanga by Samudrasena and Tāmralipta by Chandrasena. Besides Karvata or Manbhūm and Suhma or the Rādha country were held by different kings. The region lying along the seashore was in the occupation of the Mlecchas⁶

Though the purpose of the *Hanuṃsa* is to extol the greatness of Krishna, it pays a glowing tribute to the remarkable power and heroism of Vāsudeva, the king of Paundra who was an enemy of Krishna. Vāsudeva marched upon Dvārakā with his army with the object of vanquishing Krishna. Hundreds of the Yādava warriors perished at his hands. When the hero, Sātyaki, after a crushing defeat was about to be killed Krishna appeared on the scene and was struck with admiration at the surpassing valour of Vāsudeva. Then began a furious battle between the two combatants in which the manœuvres of Krishna cost Vāsudeva his life. On that memorable day Dvārakā rang with the praise of the unexampled bravery of the Bengalis.

The Lord Krishna was greatly devoted to the Brāhmanas. This devotion won him their affection. The Kshatriya community of Bengal knew that many of their ancestors had been elevated to the rank of Brahmins by virtue of their knowledge and that a number of them were on account of their disinterested services, honoured by the title of 'Brahma Ksatrottara' or greater than the Brahmins and Kshatriyas. It was their ancestors who had introduced the 'Varnāśrama' or the institution of Caste into the regions of Anga, Vanga and Kalinga. They had a great respect for learned men. It has already been pointed out on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* that the wise men of Paundra and Magadha followed the ancient religion. Now what is the nature of that ancient religion? It is the religion of the *Upaniṣads* or the *Brahma-vidyā*. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* says that the *Brahma-vidyā* is the exclusive possession of the Kshatriyas. It was from the Kshatriyas that the Brahmins obtained the knowledge. The advanced Kshatriyas did not recognize to any considerable extent the importance of the Vedic rituals. They taught the supreme necessity of self culture even to the Brahmins. The esoteric philosophy had its origin in Mithilā—it spread to Magadha, achieved a fuller development in Anga and

Some people are of the opinion that the movement against Brahminism originated with the Buddha and the Jaina Mahāvīra. A study of the *Upanisads* will however lead to the conclusion that the doctrine of salvation which they expounded was not their own discovery, but was rooted in the *Upanisads*.⁷ This explains why in the old Buddhist writings homage has been paid to Astaka Vāmadeva, Viśvāmītra and the other great Rsis.⁸ The rise of Jainism and Buddhism is the direct outcome of the ascendancy of the Kshatriyas. In their original form they may be regarded as only an offshoot of Hinduism as they are based on the *Upanisads*. The first advice of Buddha to his followers is that they should respect a Brahmin who is pure-minded and endowed with the knowledge of Brahma.⁹ We find Mahāvīra, the last of the Tīrthankaras, deeply read in the four Vedas and the old sacred literature.¹⁰

On account of the predominant influence of the Kshatriyas, the Jaina and Buddhist scriptures declared them to be superior to the Brahmins.¹¹ It is commonly believed that the Buddha and Mahāvīra proclaimed the equality of all men. But this is not a fact. Both of them held that the Sūdras were unfit to receive Pravarajyā or initiation into spiritual life.¹²

The Jaina and Buddhist doctrines came to be accepted throughout Eastern India. Their followers included the mightiest of kings as well as the humblest of villagers. When the Brahmin of Western India found that under the influence of the Kshatriyas the Buddhist and Jaina religions had cast a spell on the minds of the people in Eastern India they attempted to cut off this region from the rest of the country by prescribing expiatory sacrifices for those who would visit this land. Observing that the Kshatriyas were opposed to the Vedic religion they went so far as to declare that there were no longer any Kshatriyas in the world. But this campaign of the

⁷ Vide Brhadārnyaka Upanisad 6. 2, 7. Gautama Dharma Sūtra 3, 27. Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra, 2. 9, 10. Gautama Dharma Sūtra 3, 18, 19.

⁸ Vide Mahāvagga, 6, 35. 2.

⁹ Vide Dhammapada 18 and Mahāvagga, 6, 35. 5.

¹⁰ The Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 221.

¹¹ Vide Jina Samhitā and Ācārāṅga Sūtra of the Jainas, the Mahāvagga and Ambattha Sutta of the Buddhist.

¹² Vide Ambattha Sutta in the Sacred Books of the Buddhist, Vol. I and Ācārāṅga Sūtra in the Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 191 and also in Jina Samhitā of the Digambara Jainas.

a competent nurse so am I content to entrust the Rājukas with the task of administration for the well being and happiness of my kingdom. It is my desire that they should be impartial in their dealings and that in awarding punishment they should show some leniency.' The power of the Rājukas was not confined to merely administrative affairs in which they enjoyed absolute authority. The rock edict No. 3 tells us that from their ranks were selected officers called Dharmamahāmātras who were invested with the highest power in religious matters. They were sent to distant countries to preach the sacred religion of Buddhism. Formerly the Brahmins alone had the right to speak authoritatively on religious matters. The post of the Chief justice could only be offered to a Brahmin. It can easily be imagined to what a great extent the prestige and influence of the Rājukas or the Kāyasthas had increased during the Buddhist age when the Emperor Asoka, ignoring the time honoured practice, delegated to them the rights and duties of the Brahmins and appointed them to the posts of the Justices of the peace charged with the function of dealing even handed justice to the community including the Brahmins. This, of course, exposed them to the ill-will of the Brahmins.

The story of the settlement of the five Brahmins and five Kāyasthas in Gauda during the reign of Ādisūra in the 8th century, so widely circulated by the Brahmin genealogical writers, has no foundation in fact, so far as the Kāyasthas are concerned. Long before the 8th century there were Brahmins and Kāyasthas with the surnames of Vasu, Ghosha, Guha, Mitra, Datta, etc. This is proved by the testimony of the Damodarpur and Ghagrahati plates. Brahmins with the following surnames are mentioned in the Nidhanpur copperplate of Bhāskaravarmā,—Ādhya, Kirti, Kunda, Kula, Ghosha, Datta, Dāma, Dāsa, Deva, Dhana, Nanda, Nandi, Nāga, Pāla, Pāhta, Bhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭi, Bhṛti, Mitra, Rāta or Trāta, Vasu, Vriddhi, Sarma, Sena and Soma¹⁵. The 27 surnames mentioned stand for 49 separate families belonging to the different gotras and the vedas. The full text of Bhāskaravarmā's copperplate inscription is not as yet available and there is little doubt that in the portions still unpublished many other surnames are mentioned. Besides, the copperplate inscription of Mahārāja Lokanātha found in Tipperah,

¹⁵ *Vide Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 65-66 Vol. XIX, p. 245

or Kara dynasty. Such phrases as 'वङ्गविमलाम्बर पूर्णचन्द्र' (Vangavimalāmbarapūrṇa-Candra) and 'अस्मिन्वङ्गान्वये' (Asmīnvangānvaye) occurring in the copperplate of Mahāśiva (Gupta¹⁹ points to their Bengal origin. Most of the Brāhminic surnames that are mentioned in the Nidhanpur copperplate grant of Bhāskaraivarmā also occur in the Neulpur grant of Subhākara of Orissa. Though Subhākara has been described as an ardent follower of Buddha he settled two hundred Brahmins by a copperplate grant.²⁰ It may be surmised that these Brahmins migrated to Orissa from Bengal with the Bhauma dynasty. There is ample evidence to prove that not only Brahmins but also many Kāyasthas went there and were for successive generations appointed to high administrative positions in the States of Kalinga and Kōśala. Needless to say, the influence of Bhauma dynasty combined with the establishment of the Brahmins and Kāyasthas led to the prevalence of uniform manners, customs, usages, education and culture in Eastern India. Though in a later age the influence of Rādhīya and Varendia Brahmins from Kanauj and the Moslem rule brought about far-reaching changes in Bengal it is noteworthy that even now a large measure of uniformity is to be found in the customs, usages and the languages of the provinces of Assam and Orissa, situated as they are at such a great distance from each other.

Hundreds of Buddhist Tantrik writers flourished in Bengal between 800 A.D., and 1200 A.D. when the Pāla dynasty was in power. The majority of these writers were Brahmin and Kāyastha Ācharyas. It was they who composed the earliest *Dohās* in Bengali some of which have been published by Mahamahopādhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sāstrī, C.I.E. under the auspices of the Sāhitya-Parīśad. These *Dohās* cannot be understood without the aid of the Sanskrit commentaries. But the cultivation of the dialect in which they were written contributed to the development of the Gaudīyan language.

It was in the Buddhist period that the songs of Yogipāla, Mahipāla and of Gopīchānd became popular in Gauda. The songs of Yogipāla and Mahipāla have not yet been recovered, but the songs of Gopīchānd are extant in different versions in the Eastern as well

¹⁹ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. II, p. 153

²⁰ *Indo-Europ. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 3-5

qualified for the task of preparing them. Within the last fifty years this universal practice has disappeared with the result that many hundreds of genealogical works have been destroyed by fire, flood and worms. It is my firm conviction that the Kulapañjis of Bengal contain the most precious material for reconstructing the social history of her people. The materials for my history of the Castes and Sects of Bengal are mainly derived from them. Only 10 volumes of this work have been published, it would take another 25 volumes to complete it.

From the genealogical accounts of the Kāyastha community including its several branches it is clear that the ranks of this community were swelled by the Rajputs or Chatris who came to Bengal from different parts of India. In the same way the Agrawals and other traders from the west who came and settled here were gradually absorbed by the different Bāmvī castes. Dr MM Haraprasad Sāstri has proved that the Buddhist influence in Bengal did not die out until after the 15th century. During that century many influential Kāyasthas came under the influence of orthodox Hinduism and became ardently devoted to the Brahmins. On account of the strict control and rigid discipline which they imposed upon the society it was in a short time purged of the Buddhist element. Following the example of the king Ballāla Sena who engaged Brahmin Kulācāryas or genealogical writers to record the pedigree and the social functions of the Kulin Brahmins, the Kāyastha Zemindars secured the services of Brahmins in compiling their genealogies. Most of these writers belonged to the Rādhivā scetion of the Brahmin community. They spared no pains to wipe out the memory of the history of the Kāyastha community during the period when it was pro-Buddhist. Consequently in the Kulapañjis compiled by them there is much that is not supported by historical evidence. It is probably due to their activities that little trace is left of the older genealogies. This is also the reason why references to earlier periods are so meagre and fragmentary, although from the 15th century onwards we have got full and detailed accounts of each and every community.

We have found a few older records called 'Jijñāsā' or 'Enquiries' from which we get only a very incomplete picture of the contemporary society. The Buddhist influence on society is, however, manifest from the genealogical account of all the castes

the above it may be concluded that the religious books written in Nāgarī characters by the Muhammadans were the contributions of the Nāgara Brahmins who had now been converted to Islam. Among those Nāgara Brahmins who accepting the Buddhist creed still retained their identity and their family surnames of Ghosha, Mitra, etc., there were many who in the rôle of Buddhist Masters wrote authoritative Tantrik works and the evidence of this is still to be found in the Tibetan *Bstan-hgyur* and *Kandjur*. On the other hand those Nāgara Brahmins who had remained within the fold of Hinduism were compelled to renounce their religion in favour of Islam by threats of persecution either at the hands of the new born Brahmin Society or from the Muhammadans. Though they had to give up their old religion they could not break away from their time-honoured customs and habits. Hence we still find them using the Nāgarī characters.

Formerly the Sylhet Nāgarī was confined to the district of Sylhet and its immediate neighbourhood. Fifty years ago Munshi Abdul Karim, an inhabitant of Sylhet, returning from Europe, constructed the Nāgarī types after having revised the alphabet on the European model by rejecting many of its letters. These were the types in which the Musalman religious books were printed. I have not yet come across any MSS written in the old Sylhet Nāgarī. I have, however, got information of the existence of Nāgarī MSS in the houses of wealthy Muhammadans of Bishnupur in Western Bengal. Though they use the Bengali alphabet for all other purposes, the Scriptures which they privately study are all written in Nāgarī characters. I have been told that MSS written in Nāgarī characters can be collected in large numbers from Bishnupur if a search is made for them in right earnest. Some time ago I secured only seven such MSS. Though the writing of these bears a strong resemblance to the Sylhet Nāgarī, the letters used are larger in number and is much closer to Devanāgarī.

The characters which accompanied the Buddhist masters when they travelled to Tibet from this country and in which the scriptures were written are still in use, being known as the Bhota or Tibetan alphabet. In our opinion the alphabet which once distinguished the Nāgara Brahmins is being still used by their Muhammadan descendants when writing on religious subjects. Hence it differs in many points from the modern Nāgarī. Under the patronage of the

THE LEGEND OF RAJA GOPICHAND

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The legend of Raja Gopichand is current all over Aryan speaking India. Originating in Bengal, the story spread to the west, and became widely popular in Bihar, Hindustan, Panjab, Rajputana, Central India, Gujarat and the Mahratta country. In its popularity as a religious romance it is second only to the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata stories and to the various cycles of Sanskrit and Pan-ranic romance. In outline it is the story of the renunciation of the world by a young king who at the instance of his mother left his kingdom, his treasures, his two wives, whom he loved like his very life, and went forth to lead the life of a mendicant, serving his master and following him about. The story as current all over India is substantially the same, though there are some noteworthy differences in the different provincial recensions. These will be noted in due course.

Popularity of the Legend —The great popularity of the legend of Gopichand which marks it off from many other legends is a very striking fact. In Bengal on whose soil, as we shall see the story in all probability had its birth—its historical kernel at any rate, is by common consent, associated with the province—the memory of the king is still fresh in popular recollection. His story forms in some areas (e.g. Rangpur) the subject matter of popular song narratives (*pālā gān*) which spin out the story and finish it in a number of evening sittings. At night fall a troupe of village singers, who are generally men without any formal education gathers in the house of some rich man and gives a performance which runs for several evenings together. Some of the singers are professedly Mohammadans—they have accepted the faith of the prophet of Arabia, but have not changed their attitude to the legends of the country. The singers bring with them some instruments for accompaniment—drums and cymbals and sometimes a violin. The narrative is in verse and is either regularly sung or intoned by the leader who stands in the centre of audience, squatting round him on the floor. He is called *gān* or the singer. His assistants simply

The Questions Raised by the Legend —The story of Gopichand has certain other ramifications which, besides giving it currency over Hindustan, have important bearings on the questions raised by the legend. The questions are connected with (i) Gorakhnath his age and his mission (ii) the relationship between Gorakhnath and other Nathas and King Gopichand, and hence the historicity of Gopichand, and lastly (iii) the obscure origin of Nathism, its sudden emergence without previous warning, and its slow transformation from a Buddhistic cult into a form of Saivism. These questions furnish the crux of the problems that the legend raises.

Non-Bengal Recensions of the Legend —The versions current outside Bengal are late and show extraneous elements. The tradition, however, is old and has never been lost. It has been modified. Thus Gopichand is referred to in Malik Mahammad Jaishi's *Padmāvatī*. The book is held to be the earliest Hindi book; its antiquity is well-established. But no MS. on the Gopichand legend sufficiently old, has come down to us in the Hindi or other extra-Bengal speeches. As a mass of popular poetry it has suffered untold modification at the hands of obscure poets, vaugais and mendicant singers in Hindustan. It is not safe to rely on the version of any one of these. A sufficiently old version of the Hindustani version in some authentic recension of MSS. is a *desideratum*.

Panjab Version —One Panjab version was collected by Sir Richard Carnac Temple in the *Legends of the Punjab* Vol. II (*Suāṅg Rājā Gopīchand*). Gaud Bangāl was the home of Gopichand, and he was the King of Ujjain. Maināwantī, his mother, was the sister of the sage King Bharatharī (Bhartīharī). The mother enjoined the son to leave the vanities of the world and to seek immortality from Jalandhar Nath as his disciple. Gopichand on the contrary, at the advice of his minister had the Yogi who was in a trance thrown into a well, and then stones were thrown into it till it was quite full. In an interlude is related how in the past the two Natha gurus, Macchandrar and Jalandhar had been cursed—one was to be ensnared by women with sensual pleasures and forget his spiritual mission, the other was to be buried up in a well. Both of them were to be rescued by their respective disciples. Kanuphā and Gorakhnath. Gorakh now arrived at the King's city on this mission, and at his warning Gopichand was alarmed. He surrendered himself to Jalandhar who pardoned him, initiated him into his order and

consequence the father of the hero died. Then follows the legend in the familiar lines. Jalandhar was buried up by Gopichand, who later was made to realise his folly by Kanuphā. Then the king made amends, three packets of pulses were turned into ash as he called on the angered Guru, and on the fourth occasion, the Guru pardoned him. Jalandhar tried Gopichand hard when he applied for initiation. He was appointed to carry water 12 times a day for his Guru (cf. the Bengali recensions), to beg alms from his own subjects, and to beg alms lastly amidst the usual scenes of wailing from his own queen Menāvati and the twelve hundred other wives. For their consolation, Jalandhara predicted an heir to the throne, and then begins Gopichand's period of wandering in the company of the Guru, in course of which he visited his sister in the city of Dhārā, and had to face the well-known scene of pathetic appeal from her. Some Gujarati accounts close there with this note of tragedy, but others soften it by adding that twelve years later the Guru and the disciple had returned to Gaud-Vanga.

Marathi Version —A Marathi version (presented by Appaji Govind Inamdar) has a prelude relating how Maināmāti, the mother of Gopichand who had his seat in Kāñcan nagar, turned a disciple of the Guru Jalandhar Nath on seeing him passing on the streets with the faggots on his head. The main legend is on the Gujarati line instead of the three packets of pulses as the 'scape goats' for the Guru's ire to exhaust itself, the Marathi version has three golden images of the king himself. The legend closes in a happier vein, Gopichand returns to Gaud to reign there for one thousand years.

Bengali Recensions —The Bengali versions compared to these non-Bengali stories are undoubtedly fuller and the native singers have preserved the story purer. Points of agreement between the groups are apparent.

Published versions —But all the Bengali versions of the songs have not yet been published. Publications of the songs about Gopīchandra in Bengali dates from the year 1873 when (1) in *J A S B*, Vol. 3, Sir George Grierson published a version of the songs—*Maynāmātīr Gīt*, as heard from a man of the Jugī (Yogi) caste in Rangpur District. In spite of the attempts of his scribe to retouch it (in the first half), it is a fair sample of the legend as it is known in the area. (2) Babu Siva Chandra Sil introduced Durlabh Mallik's *Govinda Chandrer Gīt* in the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parisad Patrilā*

up, was married to the Aduna and Padunā, the daughters of King Harischandra. His reign began auspiciously with the young lovely queens and hundreds of others and a vast flourishing dominion.

This prelude to the Gopichand legend in which we learn of the father and mother of the hero is peculiar to Rangpur. Bhabani Das is absolutely silent on it except for his reference to Mayna's initiation by Gorakh at the age of nine, on which Durlabh Mallik is also agreed. Shukur Mohammad's account is very plain—Gopichand is born before the husband and the wife had met and Manikchand died of fever when Maynāmatī was in meditation. The king was cremated, but the flames did not burn Maynāmatī. Aduna and Padunā were the queens, but there were others too.

The non-Bengali versions except the Gujarati ones always begin not with the birth of Gopichand or death of his father, but with the next phase of Gopichander's life, in which Mayna, according to all accounts, enjoins king Gopichand, her son, to renounce the world and the wives and to seek true knowledge as a disciple of Hārīphā (himself a disciple of Gorakhnath). Gopichand cast doubt on the relationship of Mayna and Hārīphā which would bring on him later on slavery to a courtesan. He, however, was doubtful and called, on the advice of the queen Aduna, for proofs. Proofs were furnished one after another—Mayna passed the ordeal in boiling oil when the queen's jubilation at her feigned death turned to dismay. The feat of crossing stream on foot and of weighing lighter than a *mūlā* leaf were successfully demonstrated by the sage woman. The king was persuaded and in spite of the queen's attempts to postpone it by bribing the soothsayer Brahmin and the barber, prepared himself for initiation by donning on the mendicant's rags, accepting the horn, having the ears pierced, and so on. This second period of convincing the king which is brief in non-Bengali versions is here full of elaborate details in which Maynāmatī is tested (only in Bengali versions) and proved how precious was the knowledge she had got. In Bhabani Das's account also Mayna was tested similarly, and the daughters in law went the length of poisoning her (but they had not had her boiled in oil, as in the Gān) and were jubilant at her supposed death. The brunt of the whole thing aimed at testing the worth of Yoga is borne in Shukur Mohammad's account by the Hārīphā Guru himself and not at all by Mayna. The king, according to it, failed to utilise the wisdom he had received from the Guru, because he had not

unreasonable in favour of Tipperah and we are told that Maynāmatīr Pīhāi saw the great renunciation and the all-wise queen herself must have been from Bikrampur (South Dacca) as Aduna and Paduna from Sābhār (Western Dacca) (N K Bhattasali, *Maynāmatīr Gān*, Introduction) Gopichand remains as obscure as ever—nothing could have made him survive in folk memory but for his renunciation and connection, above all, with the great Nath-Siddhās

Whatever its historical value, the legend of Gopichand is of primary importance as throwing some light—however faint and uncertain it may be—on what may be called the dark age of early Indian history and culture. Like the almost contemporary dark age in Europe, it was during this period that the ancient Hindu world was taking its modern shape.

Modern Hindu Life—a result of Cultural Assimilation The Legend and the process of Assimilation —Modern Indian life has made an amazing synthesis of the materials of different inspirations. Hindu life in India to day presents on the whole a homogeneous picture. This happens everywhere—diverse elements are unconsciously synthesized into a complex whole through the desire of the generations for a consistent story. Thus, for example, in the present case, Gopichand, a purely romantic figure of a later devotional order, has been connected in the North Indian versions of the legend with Bhartihari, a classical hero. But the legends, as is natural in such cases, yet remain to point to a distant past. Buddhism has been submerged by Hinduism, the Yugas, who probably were affiliated to the Buddhist Tantrik order, are Śaivite ascetics. In Bengal they form to day a distinct secular section within the Hindu community, and most of them in the East Bengal are Vaisnavas, and weavers as a rule by profession. Much of the rituals of the Śaivite ascetic order or the practices of the Bengali Yugi section echo back to an era when the assimilation had not yet taken place. The process, however, of this transformation is yet unknown.

The Nathas and Nathism, from this point of view, are of the highest importance and the Gopichand legend owes its importance to its being connected with them. But these Natha Gurus are themselves the real enigma. All about them is twilight dimness. From Marathi *Jñanesvarī* we are warranted in putting them as

The Jugī Caste —In Bengal the Nathas have, however, standardized into a caste—the Jugis, the caste of weavers. The legend of Gopichand has been preserved by them in Rangpur, and MSS of it are oftener found in their houses than elsewhere. 'They number 365,910. Their greatest numbers are found in Tipperah, Noakhah, and they are numerous also in Chittagong, Mymensingh, Dacca, Bakarganj but they are in considerable numbers in the Southern districts of the Presidency Division and in parts of the Northern Bengal (Census 1921, Vol V, Pt I, p 354). In North Bengal they call themselves Siva Vamā and are possibly of Śaiva persuasion, but in the East Bengal they are mostly Vaiṣṇavas. Their 'sections', viz Kāśyapa, Siva, Ādi, Alarishī, Anādi, Batuk, Boibhairab, Gorakṣa, Matsyendri, Min, Satya—and religious grouping, viz Brāhman, Sannyāsa (Kānpṛhāt) Dandī, Dharmaghare, Jāthi, Kālphā, Darīhār, Aghorpanthī, Bhartrihārī, Sārangihār—are interesting (Risley—*Castes and Tribals of Bengal*, Vol II, p 52). It is to be remembered that they did not and often do not burn their dead, though they hold themselves Hindus in every way. Thus Nathism, whatever in origin has transformed itself. In origin a form of Tantrik Buddhism, as it is held it was perhaps natural for it in the days of approximation and adoption to shade off easily into Tantrik Śaivism, earning more for its Tantrik rites, tenets and system. These suited any labelling, Buddhism or Śaivism, and if these were permitted to them the Yogis were easily reconciled. Later on came Islam, and a vast multitude, still Buddhistic, who had hung on the borderland of Hinduism would gladly adopt it. Narañjaner-ismā lends support to such a surmise. Still later came the Vaiṣṇava wave and those who were depressed found a new haven. *Gopīchandrī Gān* in Bengali is full of Vaiṣṇava touches which can easily be explained if this is kept in view.

It might be submitted that Nathism is perhaps nothing so academic as Buddhism developing or declining, but the primitive cults and rites of the non Aryan people which through ages persisted among the folk, and were continued by a chain of folk vagabonds, highly esteemed by the people for their supposed miracle making powers. These belonged to no regular order—Buddha, Jaina or Hindu,—but were ready to affiliate themselves to any one and to colour any one in their turn. From non Vedic charms to the present day Sahajiyā transformations through Tantrik Buddhism and Tantrik

Section of Indian Philosophy.

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IS BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ POST-BUDDHIST?

RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M V KIBE

The text of the *Bhagavad Gītā* as recovered from Alberuni's *India* is perhaps the oldest extant and an impartial text of the famous work

The first line of the 3rd stanza of chapter 11 runs as follows —

एवमेतद्यथाऽत्य

Tilak in his famous *Gītā Rahasya* has observed that some commentators prefer to treat this line and the second as a separate entity from the last two lines. But both agree as to the meaning. The first two lines are —

एवमेतद्यथाऽत्य त्वमात्मान परमेस्वर ।

They, according to some commentators, mean — Oh God thou in this way hast described self

The Sanskrit expression एतद्यथाऽत्य is rather curious and appears to be a technical term of foreign origin. The last word ऽत्य is ordinarily taken to mean as 'described' and is written in ordinary editions in conjunction with the previous word—यथात्य

The above surmise, however, is supported by the following facts —

Professor J Pratt, Ph D in his monumental work '*The Pilgrimage of Buddhism and a Buddhist Pilgrim*' (Macmillan & Co, Ltd 1928, p 247) has discussed the word 'Bhūta tathatā' found in the works of the *Yogācāra* school of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. According to him the word 'Bhūta tathatā' means 'Absolute'. Then he goes on to call it 'Thatness'. He mentions that Professor A B Keith suggests for 'Bhūta tathatā' the rendering 'Thusness'. Professor Pratt's conclusion is 'Bhūta-tathatā is the ultimate spiritual essence, is all in all' (p 250)

Having regard to the fact that for the expression 'Bhūta' in Buddhist literature before 'tathatā' there is 'etat' in Sanskrit, both of which mean the same thing, viz 'That,' it is not difficult to conclude that one is indebted to the other. Professor Pratt is obviously wrong in translating the whole expression 'Bhūta-tathatā' as 'absolute'. His final rendering of it is correct. The first

प्राचीन-न्यायो नव्य-न्यायश्च ।

इह खलु विधेर्विलक्षणविविधनिर्मितिनैपुण्यचमत्कारे दृष्टदाकारेऽनन्तविस्तारे सुखाभासावज्ञातसारे सर्वविधविषयप्रसारे विज्ञानसारे ससारे सन्ति सन्ति शास्त्राणि स्वीयावगूढप्रौढाग्र्यप्रतिपादकानि न्यायशास्त्रप्रभृतीनि पट् सख्यकानि सदसदुपदेशपराणि आत्मापवगावोभ्रष्टान्तविनाग्नविधौ दीपरूपाणि लौकिकालौकिकपदार्थजातयथार्थावगमन-कारणानि । तत्र च न्यायशास्त्र सर्वास्तिकनास्तिककोविदाकोविदसकललोकैः प्रयुज्यमान-मुपयुज्यमानञ्च दिननाथ इवात्मावबोध इव सर्वविधाज्ञानध्वान्निवारक सर्वैरापेक्षिकम् । न्यायस्वरूपस्येदम् नीयते प्राप्यते विवक्षितार्थसिद्धिरनेन स न्यायः । पक्षसत्त्व सपक्ष-सत्त्वत्रिपक्षासत्त्वावाधितत्वासत्युत्तिपक्षितत्वरूपसमस्तसत्त्वोपपन्नलिङ्गप्रतिपादक पञ्चावयववाक्य-मित्यर्थः । लिङ्गमेव गमक तच्च स—अभिचारविरुद्धसत्युत्तिपक्षासिद्धवाधितरूप पञ्चहेत्वाभासा-नाल्लिङ्गितमेव हेतुरूप बोधकमस्ति । किञ्च प्रमाणैरर्थपरौत्तरे न्याय इत्यपि न्यायस्वरूप मनीषिहृदयद्रव्यमतासम्भूयैति । यावति शब्दसमूहे सिद्धिः परिसमाप्यते तस्य पञ्चावयवा प्रतिज्ञादयः समूहमपेक्ष्यावयवा उच्यन्ते । तेषु प्रमाणसमवाय आगम प्रतिज्ञा, हेतुरनुमानम्, उदाहरण प्रत्यक्षम्, उपनयनमुपमानम्, सर्वेपामेकार्थसमवाये सामर्थ्यप्रदर्शन निगमनमिति, सोऽयं न्यायः । न्यायस्वरूपम्—न्यायो विधेय न्यायप्रयोग आवश्यकः । न्यायस्य प्रभाव-न्यायत्यागे हानिः न्यायप्रयोगेण युक्तस्य कस्यचित् दृष्टान्तः । न्यायप्रयोगस्य विधानमाव-श्यकमिति निश्चयकरणम् । महर्षि-वात्स्यायन-व्यास-सकलकलालापखरपाण्डित्यशालिभि-शास्त्रीय मर्माद्योतकरैः विचारसत्त्वविलक्षितविलक्षणमालालालितपदसरोजैरुदयनाचार्य-प्रभृतिभिरनुयातः ॥ स एव प्रत्यक्षागमाश्रितमनुमानमन्वीचेत्यभिधीयते—प्रत्यक्षागमाभ्या-मीक्षितस्यान्वीक्षणमन्वीक्षा तथा प्रवर्तमानाऽन्वीक्षिकी न्यायविद्या न्यायशास्त्रम् । प्रमाण-प्रमेयसम्यग्-प्रयोजन-दृष्टान्त-सिद्धान्तावयवतर्कनिर्णयवादन्यविनष्टा-हेत्वाभासच्छलजाति निग्रहस्थानानानात्त्वज्ञानानि त्रैयसाधिगम इति सूत्रोक्तेः प्रमाणादिषोडशपदार्थैर्विभक्ताऽन्वी-क्षिकीविद्या समुल्लसतिनरात्रितराम् । आन्वीक्षिकीत्रयीविद्या दण्डनीतिश्च शास्त्रतीति कोषेऽपि प्राधान्येन प्रथममुद्देशस्तस्या इतरविद्यासु अपि च “पुराण-न्याय मीमांसा-धर्म-शास्त्राद्विनिर्मिता । वेदा स्थानानि विद्याना धर्मस्य च चतुर्दशः ॥” इति याज्ञवल्क्योक्तेन तस्याः तदितरविद्योपयोगित्वम् सर्वविधधर्मावगति-धौरेयत्वञ्च गम्यते व्यवहितपूर्वोपादानात् । “प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम् । आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां विद्योद्देशे प्रकीर्तिताः ॥” इत्यभिमुक्तोक्तेऽन्वीक्षिक्या निखिलविद्याप्रकाशकत्वं सकलक्रियोपायभूतत्वं समस्तधर्माधारत्वञ्च द्योत्यतेऽतो विशेषतः प्रयोक्तव्यं साकान्तेन सर्वदा सर्वैर्विद्विरेविविद्धि । येनान्वीक्षिकी प्रवर्त्यते स न्यायो द्विविधः प्राचीनो नव्यश्च । तत्र प्रागिति प्राचीनः । विभाषाश्चेरदिकस्त्वियामिति स्वार्यं ख । प्राच्य लोकाद्गतप्रौढतया महामहिम-प्रत्यक्षोक्त-निखिलवस्तुकालत्रयमाहात्म्यमहर्षि-गीतमकण्ठादनिर्मितः । नव्यो नवीनः, नवस्यनू आदेशो यत्प्रत्ययोभयत्वाद्गुणे च नव्य इति । एष च विद्वन्मणितर्कालङ्कार-मथुरानाथ-जगदीशभट्ट गदाधरभट्टादिभिरविसृति नौत परि-णामान्तरञ्च गमितः, कमप्यन्यतम तदौय भागः खलु बाधित्यत्वं समाश्रित्य च स्वीयप्रतिभानवा-भासमानमहत्त्वमहामहिम्ना, तादृशासीमप्रज्ञासत्त्वलोलास्त्रिष्टमतयस्ते समभवन् किं दुःसाध-खलु प्रौढशेमुपौकामिनीकामिना अखिलगुणगरिममालिना विपक्षिता तादृशा ग्रन्थनिर्माणम् ।

दर्शनेन पटौयसी परिपाटी समायितवन्तोऽकुण्डोत्कण्ठाममन्दानन्दनिघ्नं च जनयन्ति, अतिगम्भीरभावमर्थं स्फुटमुपदिशन्ति । अतस्त्वेवाद्धाति पदं गौरवम् । मद्दपिगोतमनिर्मित-दर्शनस्य मूलभूतस्य किञ्चित्सल वान्यतम विषयमवलम्ब्यैव नयन्यायनिर्माणम् विहितं जटिल-कठिनवन्धेषु यथासति मनौपिभि यथा वान्मीकिरासायणसायित्योत्तरचरित नाटक रघु-वशाख्यमहाकाव्यञ्च प्रणेता भवभूतिना कालिदासेन च यथाक्रमम् । अतो मूलभूतत्वा-त्सकलात्माद्यपवर्गान्तप्रमेयार्थप्रकाशकत्वात् उत्कृष्टतममोक्षस्वरूपसाधनप्राप्तिबोधकत्वाच्च सर्वं विश्वप्राणिप्रधानभूतात्मनिरूपणसाधनावगमकत्वात्प्रधानो रुचिरश्च भाति प्राचीनन्यायप्रतिभा-शालिविबुधेष्टे विलसतितरान्निरन्तरम् ॥ तदेव प्रदर्शयते—उपयोगित्वमावश्यकत्वाच्च सर्वेषां विदुषा पामराणाञ्च सुमुञ्जूषा विपरिणाञ्च । यतोऽनन्तप्रसारस्याप्रत्यक्षकारणस्यानन्तभूतस्य ससारस्य कर्त्ता ईश्वरोऽपि प्राचीनन्यायादेवावगम्यते सम्यक् अनुमानाद्यथा—“कार्यायोजन-धृत्यादे पदानुत्ययत युते । वाक्यात्मव्याविशेषाच्च साधो विश्वविद्वय ” । इत्यादिना चार्थवचनेन तत्साधनकथनात् चित्ति सकर्तृका कार्यत्वात् घटवदित्यनुमानप्रमाणात् ज्ञेय प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दा प्रमाणातीति सूत्रप्रतिपादितानि प्रमाणानि सन्ति, प्रत्यक्षाभावे-ऽनुमानमाश्रीयते । आत्मनोऽप्यप्रत्यक्षस्यानुमानम्, “इच्छाद्वेपप्रयत्नसुखदुःखज्ञानान्यात्मनो लिङ्गमिति सूत्रेण यथेच्छादिज्ञानान्नसूत्रापात्ता गुणः क्वचिदाश्रिता गुणत्वात् रूपवत्—इत्यनेनेच्छाद्याय क्वचित्सिद्धं स एवात्मा । किञ्च प्राणपाननिमेषोन्मेषजीवनमनोगतेन्द्रि-यान्तरविकारा सुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेपप्रयत्नाद्यात्मनो लिङ्गमिति कणादसूत्रोक्तप्राणादीन्द्रियान्तर-विकारान्ता अपि गमका आत्मसद्भावे । तथाहि—शरीरं प्रयत्नवदधिष्ठितमिच्छापूर्वकविकृत-वाग्वाययलात् भस्मावत इत्याद्यनुमानम् । न च मनः शरीरं वेन्द्रियाण्येवात्मा न इत्यगिति वाच्यम् मनस आत्मत्वे ज्ञानादिप्रत्यक्षं स्यात् तस्याणुत्वात् । शरीरमपि नात्मा नृत्तदेहे ज्ञान-सुखाद्यनुदयात् । इन्द्रियाण्यपि नात्मा तेषां करणत्वेन ज्ञानकर्तृत्वाभावात् भिदिक्रियायां कुठारस्य करणस्य इत्येकं स्थिति दर्शनात् । तथात्वं चक्षुर्विनाशे तद्दृष्टस्य पदार्थस्य स्मृतिर्न स्यात्—अनुभवितुं स्मृत्यैकस्यैव सत्त्वात् न चान्यदृष्टमन्य स्मरति । अत इत्यगात्मासिद्ध । आत्म-शरीरेन्द्रियार्थबुद्धिमनः प्रवृत्तिदोषप्रेत्यभावफलदुःखापवर्गास्तु प्रमेयम्—इति प्रमेयसूत्रे चात्म-पदमुपात्तमस्य तत्त्वज्ञानाद्विधेयं भवति । एतत्तत्त्वज्ञानं च प्रमाणैर्वाद्गजल्पवितण्डाभिसिद्धिभिः कथाभिश्च परपक्षात्रिराकृत्य स्वीयञ्च न सस्याप्य जायते । अनेकयोनिजनिभोग्य जनन मरणजन्ममेकविंशतिधा दुःखं यत्रात्यन्तं ध्वसते सोऽपवर्गः । तथा च सूत्रितं भगवता मद्दर्पिणा—“तत्तदत्यन्तविमोक्षोऽपवर्गः—इति । शरीरं पण्डिन्द्रियाणि पण्ड विषया पट् बुद्धयः सुखं दुःखं स्वेत्येकविंशतिप्रभेदः दुःखम् । शरीरं दुःखायतनत्वाद्दुःखमेव कर्मजन्यं, मुख्यं फलं तु दुःखम्, गौणं तु शरीरं तदभावादपवर्गः—तथा च सूत्रम्—दुःखजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमित्याज्ञानाना-सुत्तरोत्तरापाये तदनन्तरापायादपवर्गः इति—दुःखादीनाम्नये यदुत्तरोत्तरान्तदपाये तद-नन्तरस्य तत्त्वत्रिद्वितस्य पूर्वपूर्वस्यापायादपवर्गः । प्रयोजकत्वं प्रयोज्यत्वं वा पञ्चमर्थं—यथा दण्डाभावादुघटाभाव इति स्वरूपसम्बन्धविशेष एव तत् । तथा च तत्त्वज्ञानेन विरोधित्वेन मिथ्याज्ञानेऽपहृते कारणाभावाच्चापगते रागद्वेषात्मके दोषे तदभावाच्च धर्माधर्मात्मिकायां प्रवृत्तेरनुत्पत्तौ तदभावात् विणिष्टशरीरसम्बन्धस्य शरीरस्याभावे दुःखाभावादपवर्गः ज्ञानिनः साधारणरागादिसत्त्वेऽप्युक्तस्य तस्याभावात् । ननु दुःखापायान्नपवर्गः स एव स तथापि पञ्चमर्थोभेद एवात्रास्ति वापवर्गपदं तद्व्यवहारपरम्—अनन्तरपदेन जन्मान्तरमेव गृह्यते—इति तु न युक्तम्, दुःखपदवैयर्थ्यापत्तेः । दुःखानुत्पत्तेः चरमदुःखध्वंसप्रयोजकत्वं कल्पते, इदमभिप्रेत्येतदपि साधु । साधर्म्यादिकार्यसमान्तवतुर्विंशतिजातीनां प्रतिज्ञादानिपूर्वक-

THE LOKĀYATIKAS AND THE KĀPĀLIKAS

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The Lokāyata is a very ancient sect in India. It is as old as the Vedas, if not older. The Kāpālikas too, as it appears, do not differ much from it in point of age, even though it is very difficult to say with certainty, which of these two sects is the older. Both the sects are referred to in the Vedas, in Buddhist literature, in Jaina literature, in the Purānas and the Tantras, in the Epics, in the early secular works, in the Kāvya, in the Nātakas and in the Commentaries of philosophical works.

In an inscription, dated 620 A D, relating to a grant to the priests of the Kāpāhkesvara temple in Nasik, the Mahāvratins or the Kāpālikas are mentioned. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the first half of the 7th century of the Christian era, also mentions the Kāpālikas. Thus it appears that the Kāpālikas too were a very ancient sect. In all old works, the Lokāyatikas are mentioned as a distinct sect from the Kāpāhkas. Gunaratna, a fourteenth century commentator, identifies the Kāpālikas with the Lokāyatikas¹. It is very interesting to see how these two sects were gradually amalgamated.

The Visnu Purāna mentions a class of people of very ancient times, who were free to live, wherever they liked, free from all obligations, pure at heart, and blameless in action. Virtue and vice they had none. They lived in an atmosphere of perfect freedom in which man can move, depending upon his natural tendencies without being circumscribed in the least by the conventional dogmas of religion and social usages². This class must have been the origin of the Lokāyatikas.

Side by side with them we meet the Vedicists, who followed the Vedic injunctions blindly. These are the two extreme classes of

¹ Vide Tarkarahasya dīpikā (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1905), p. 300. कापालिका भस्मोद्भूतनपरा योगिनो ब्राह्मणाद्यन्यजाताश्च केचन नास्तिका भवन्ति । तन्नामानि चार्वाकलोकायता इत्यादीनि । . धर्म कामादपरं न मन्वते ।

² Vide Vishnupurāna I, 6, 12 यथेच्छावासनिरता सर्वेधाविर्वर्जिता । शुद्धान्त-
करणा शुद्धा सर्वानुष्ठाननिर्मला ॥ धर्माधर्मौ न तेष्वस्ताम् ।

stage it was a mere tendency of opposition. It accepted the authority of none. It even denied the authority of the Vedas. At this stage its name was Bārhaspatya¹. In its second stage, svabhāvavāda, recognition of perception as a source of knowledge and the theory of Dehātmarāda were incorporated in it. At this stage they got the name Lokāyata².

In its third stage, an extreme form of Hedonism, which was due perhaps to the corruption of this extreme form of freedom, formed the most important feature of this school. Gross sensual pleasure superseded pure bliss which the Lokāyatikas enjoyed so long. Licentiousness replaced liberty. At this stage they got the designation, Cārvāka, and preached—'Eat, drink and be merry, for to-morrow you may die'. From that time the non-religionists leaned gradually towards spiritualism. Being severely attacked by the spiritualists, they gave up the theory of Dehātmarāda and tried gradually to identify the sense organs, breath, and the organ of thought with the self. At this stage they accepted अकाश as an element and even Inference, though in a restricted sense, as a source of knowledge³. In its fourth stage, the school came to be at one with the Buddhists and the Jains in opposing the Vedicists, and got the common designation of Nāstika—Nāstiko Veda nindakah. At this stage, all anti-Vedic schools came to be known as Lokāyata. They failed to maintain their original characteristics.

The sect, which allowed enjoyment of women for religious purposes, introduced gradually the drinking of spirituous liquors and eating of meat into their religious rites. In course of time, partly

1 सर्वत्र पयन्योगपराण्येव सूत्राणि दृश्यन्ते—Sammata Tarkopakarana, Gujrat Purātattva series, Vol I, p 69

2 स्वभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रवृत्तम्—Bhattotpala, Gunaratna, Dallana, etc

प्रत्यक्षमेवैकं प्रमाणम्—Commentary on Sammata Tarkopakarana, p 73, अनुमानसंप्रमाणम् p 70 एतावानेव पुरुषो यावानिन्द्रियगोचर—Tattva Sangraha, Gaekwad series, p 323 सुशिक्षिततरा प्राञ्जद्विविधमनुमानम् किञ्चिदुत्पन्नप्रतीति किञ्चिदुत्पाद्यप्रतीति तत्र धूमानुमानादेः प्रमाणं केन नेष्यते ?

यत्तत्त्वैश्च सर्वज्ञ-परलोकादिगोचरम् अनुमानं तस्यैव प्रमाणं तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ।

3 काम एवैकं पुरुषार्थम्—Advaita Brahmasiddhi of Sadānanda. Also अन्नना-
लिङ्गनाजगत्सुखमेव पुरुषार्थता, etc यावज्जीवेत् सुखं जीवेत्, etc, etc, etc The four
classes of materialists—Sadānanda लोकसिद्धिमनुमानं प्रमाणम्—Purandara Also
Gunaratna, p 300—पञ्चभूतात्मकं जगत् and p 306 चार्वाकैर्लोकियाचारानिर्वाहनप्रवणं
धूमाद्यनुमानमिष्यते न पुनः स्वर्गादृष्टादिप्रसाधनसलौकिकमनुमानमिति ।

accounts of such Kāpālīkas They were a horrible and demoniacal sect feared by all Being condemned and feared by the villagers, the members of the sect were bound to renounce the world to wear matted locks, to use tiger-skin as garment and bed, to besmear their bodies with ashes of burnt up corpses and to live in caves or rocky places After fasting, they drank liquor out of the skulls of Brahmins Their sacrificial fires were fed with the brains and lungs of human victims, mixed up with their flesh and human victims covered with fresh blood gushing out of the dreadful wounds in their throats were the offerings by which they appeased the terrible god Mahābhairava They practised yoga and through the might of their religion, they could control Hari Hara and the greatest and most ancient gods They claimed they could stop the course of the planets in the heavens They could submerge the Earth in water with its mountains and cities and could drink up the waters of oceans in a moment (1) They had the power to move through the sky and other miraculous powers such as the eight Siddhis which are (1) the faculty of enlarging the bulk of the body, (2) that of making it light, (3) that of making it smaller (4) the power of gratifying the passions, (5) that of subjecting all, (6) supreme sway, (7) the faculty of grasping the objects however remote, and (8) the fulfilment of every natural desire

But why do the Kāpālīkas practise such terrible cruelties? Why do they strive to attain various supernatural powers in and through religion? Certainly their aim is to attain sensuous pleasure According to some philosophers, the state of salvation is no better than that of a piece of inanimate and insensible stone The Kāpālīkas, in contradiction to this view, say that such a state of salvation in which there is no sense of pleasure, should not be aimed at Exactly the same view is attributed to the Cārvākas by the author of the Naisada Kāvya—'Muktaye yah śīlatvāya sas tramuce śacetasām, etc' The difference between the Lokāyatīkas and the Kāpālīkas is in the *means* and not in the *end* The Kāpālīkas suggest some religious rites for attaining pleasure They opine that pleasure exists in the objects of desire Śiva the founder of the Kāpālīka school, promises that a devotee having attained salvation, becomes a Śiva and enjoys the pleasure arising from the company of excellent beauties like Pārvatī Therefore, they practise

sect with sensual pleasure as the end of life. This school used to meet like the Lokāyatikas, once a year, at a particular place, and enjoyed to their hearts' content, all sorts of pleasure without any let or hindrance whatsoever. They came in sexual contact with any woman whether of high or low origin, whether sister, or other near relatives¹. This is not a new practice with the Kāpālikas. This they practised in their Vāmadeva vrata in which there is an injunction—न काश्चन परिहरेत्—let no woman be abandoned. But the Lokāyatikas in their primitive stage were—गुह्यन करणा गुहा सर्वानुष्ठाननिर्मला pure at heart and blameless in action. Thus with the degradation of the Lokāyatikas and the purification of the Kāpālikas, these two sects were now brought almost on the same level and identified themselves with each other.

Gunaratna, the commentator of *Saddarsana-samuccaya* refers to this identification. In the time of Brihaspati of Arthaśāstra fame, these two sects were clearly distinct. They differed not in their end but in their means. The Lokāyatikas were Aheturvādins or Akriyāvādins—the followers of the doctrine of non causation. According to this doctrine, something comes out of nothing—the caused comes out of the uncaused—असत् सद्जायत a doctrine which was propounded by Brahmanaspati or Brihaspati, the founder of their sect. According to this view, the Self is Niskriya—passive. This being the case, whether we do good or bad, the result thereof does not affect the self in the least—नास्ति सुकृतदुष्कृतकर्मणा फल विपाक. The universe is self-caused, self-generated—स्वभाविक जगदिदं. Retribution of action is denied.

With its decline the Lokāyata school lost this main characteristic and leaned towards spiritualism. The Kāpālikas were not in their primitive stage—अक्रियावादिन. They practised religion as a means to an end.

According to them, Siva is free from stain and is the supreme Agent. No action though repugnant to the moral standard of the world or of the Vedas really clings to Him. The besmearing of his body with the ashes of burnt-up corpses together with similar other acts is certainly anti-Vedic. But in spite of this, He is free

¹ Tarkarahasya dīpikā—(Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1905), p. 300

ते च मद्यमासे भुञ्जते मात्राद्यगम्यागमनमपि कुर्वते । वर्षे वर्षे कस्मिन्नपि दिवसे सर्वे सम्यग् यथानामनिर्गम स्त्रीभिरभिरमन्ते । धर्म कामादपर न मन्वते ।

The skull-less Kāpālikas became more refined and gave up wine and meat, which was in all probability due to the influence of the Buddhists and the Jainas, but they continued their original habit of sensualism. This sensualism, too, in course of time, either through the influence of the Ādi Buddhas, or through the influence of the Vaiṣṇavas, gave up its grosser aspect, which it had among the skull-bearers and took a refined shape, the end of which was much higher than sexual pleasure. They utilised Kāma as a means to some higher end. They did not care for the temporary and fragmentary pleasure of the skull-bearers, or of the Lokāyatikas of the Cārvāka period. They aimed at that pleasure which is eternal, supreme and pure. They were the Sahajiyās. They sacrificed Kāma to Prema (love). They agree with the Lokāyatikas in this that their end is pleasure, and that they are anti Vedic. They agree with the skull-bearers in this that they enjoy women for religious purposes. Love and not merely lust for one with whom one is not bound by the tie of wedlock, is their essential feature. Here they partially agree with the Vāmadevas, the Vāmacārins, and the Kāpālikas. Those skull-less Kāpālikas who did not continue their old sensualism, probably, became the forerunners of Dakṣinācārins.

Another sect, the Tantrikas, who, according to some, are a modern sect, probably originated in the Kāpālika sect. To counteract the evils of Kāpālikism perhaps a class of people of the Brahminical schools included and adopted the popular doctrines regarding indulgence, paying no heed to Varnāśrama dharma, and modified the doctrines to some extent. Thus, although the enjoyment of the objects of the senses may be recommended by the Tantrikas along with the skull-bearers and the non-religionists, the Tantrikas differ from them in their end. The end of the Kāpālikas and the Lokāyatikas is Kāma or gross sensual pleasure, but the end of Tantrikism is to become a Vira, to attain full control over one's passions, to attain final liberation of the soul. It accepts Kāma as a means to an end, which is much higher than sensual pleasure.

Buddha in his Pañca kāma guna dittha dhamma nivvāna-vāda preaches almost the same doctrine. Vātsyāyana of Kāma Sastra fame also differs from the Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas as regards the end. The ultimate aim of his work, according to him, is to teach the subjugation of the senses. The Sahajiyās differ from the Kāpālikas and the Tantrikas on another point. With the

be mentioned in this connexion along with the Dolotsava festival of the Vaishnavas. We are not sure whether the Māghotsava of the Brahmas have any connexion with the old Vasantotsava of the Lokāyatikas.

However, the Lokāyatikas, who did not join any religious festival, made their way in the teeth of all obstacles. They became gradually at one with the Kāpālikas, and continued to meet once a year at a place, where an extreme form of licentiousness prevailed. This idea of licentiousness, of course, does not owe its origin to the Lokāyatikas. This idea originally belonged to the Kāpālikas. Similarly, the Cakras of the Tantrikas of the left hand order, and the Mandalas of the Sahajiyās, most probably, owe their origin to the annual meetings of the Kāpālikas, whom the Lokāyatikas joined later on. In Gunaratna's time, these annual meetings became the common festivals of the Kāpālikas and the Lokāyatikas.

Now, let us conclude. We were so long engaged in searching for the reasons why Gunaratna identifies the Kāpālikas with the Lokāyatikas. We have seen that the Kāpālikas agreed with the Lokāyatikas in anti Vedic practices. They agreed in licentiousness, they had common annual festivals, they gave more importance to प्रत्यक्ष than to अनुमान¹. They were the heretics equally condemned by the orthodox schools². Perhaps for these reasons, these two schools were identified with each other. Or, it may be that the followers of the orthodox schools, through bitter contempt, identified the Lokāyatikas with the fierce Kāpālikas, as in previous cases the Vedicists used freely the terms of abuse like 'bastards,' 'incest' and 'monsters' with regard to the Lokāyatikas.

In conclusion, I must add that I have made this humble effort not in the belief that my contributions to the knowledge on these subjects are likely to be of any considerable value, but in the hope that insignificant as they are, they will serve to attract the attention of worthier scholars to them, and call forth their energies.

¹ Mahendra vikrama mattva vilāsa, प्रत्यक्षे हेतुवचनमनर्थकम् ।

² कपालभस्मास्त्रिधरा ये ह्यवैदिकलिङ्गिन । अवैदिकक्रियोपेतास्ते वै पापण्डिनस्तथा ॥

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRANSMIGRATION OF THE SOUL, INDIAN AND GREEK

(Summary)

RAI BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

The earliest notice of Pythagoras's belief in transmigration is found in a verse of his contemporary, Zenophanes. Extracts from a poem entitled *Purifications* by Empedocles on transmigrations and release. The earliest reference to Orphic belief in transmigration is found in poems inscribed on golden tablets assignable to the 5th or 4th century B C. Herodotus is of opinion that the Greek believers in transmigration borrowed the doctrine from the Egyptians. Flanders Petrie writes that reference to the doctrine of transmigration is found in an Egyptian text of about 500 B C and the Egyptian knowledge of the doctrine must have been derived from Indian source. All Indologists who have dealt with the question with the exception of Keith hold that the Greeks borrowed the doctrine from Indians. All historians of Greek Philosophy who have dealt with the question with the exception of Gomperz regard the Greek belief as of independent origin. Keith closely follows Rohde, the author of *Psyche*. Rohde traces the origin of the doctrine to Thrace. This is due to a misunderstanding of the cult of Zalmoxis. As an alternative hypothesis Rohde suggests that the doctrine of transmigration must have originated independently in different parts of the earth. Since Rohde first wrote anthropological researches have made rapid strides and the psychic unity of mankind is no longer considered axiomatic. The doctrine of transmigration as held by both the Hindus and the Greeks is not a simple belief, but a very complex cultural trait. It includes three different but correlated elements (1) belief in reincarnation, (2) *karma*, (3) release (*mukti*). Belief in reincarnation is met with among some primitive tribes of Australia, Africa, and America, but not in association with the doctrines of *karma* and release. Such a complex belief could have originated in one centre only, either in India or in Greece. As the doctrine is more deeply rooted in India than it was ever in Greece, it must have originated in India and spread to Greece as a result of diffusion.

Section of Anthropology.

President

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA RAY, M A , B L , M L C

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M A , B L , M L C

I must begin by thanking the Executive Committee of the Oriental Conference for the honour they have done me by inviting me to preside over the meetings of its Anthropological Section

Presidential Addresses to such Conferences and Congresses generally take either of two forms. They either review the progress of research in the particular branch of study in question during the interval since the Conference last met or since such a review was last made, or they take the form of a discourse on some special department of the science in which the speaker is particularly interested or some special line of research the importance or usefulness of which the speaker desires to emphasize

As the progress of anthropological research in India is still in its infancy, the story of its progress since the Conference was started ten years ago cannot possibly take more than a small fraction of the hour or so which is considered appropriate for a Presidential Address. I accordingly propose, with your permission, to avail myself, to some extent, of both the alternative courses usually adopted on such an occasion. I shall begin with an enumeration of the anthropological work done in India during the last decade, of which no connected account appears to have been yet given and then proceed to make some observations on one or two particular lines of anthropological study which every one of us may usefully pursue

Ten years ago, in February 1921, just after this Conference was inaugurated, in my Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress held at Calcutta, I made a survey of the anthropological work till then done in India¹. That survey disclosed, in the first place, the sad neglect in the past of anthropological research by Indian scholars, although India afforded a most favourable field for such work. I had to lament, in the second place, the regrettable omission by most of our Indian Universities to include Anthropology in their curricula of studies, and the neglect

¹ See *Man in India*, Vol I, pp. 11 ff

more than about some thirty works on anthropological subjects published within the last ten years. And out of this scanty number more than one third have been prepared by European writers and about a half have been published by Government or under Government auspices. Thus, as many as six valuable ethnographic monographs have been issued under the auspices of the Assam Government, all written by English officials, except one which is from the pen of an American scholar. These are — *The Sema Nagas* and *The Angami Nagas*, by Dr J H Hutton, both published in 1921, *The Ao Naga Tribe* by Dr W C Smith, published in 1925, *The Lohla Nagas* published in 1922 and another book on the *Ao Nagas* in 1926, both by Mr J P Mills, and *Notes on Thado Kukis*, published in 1929, by Mr William Shaw. To the Bombay Government we owe the *Castes and Tribes of Bombay* by Mr R E Enthoven, published in 1920–22. A small book on *Stone Age in India* by Mr P T Srinivasa Iyengar was published by the Madras Government in 1926. The Mysore Government published in 1928 and 1929 two volumes on *Mysore Tribes and Castes* compiled by the late Mr Nanjundayya and completed and edited by Rao Bahadur Anantha Krishna Iyer. The Bihar and Orissa Government is publishing an exhaustive *Encyclopædia of the Mundas* in several volumes, entitled *Encyclopædia Mundarica*, compiled by the late Rev J Hoffmann which is being printed in parts. A similar work on the Santals by Rev Dr P O Boddmg is in active preparation, and its first volume was published at Oslo last year and a second volume is about to be published. The Cochin Administration published, in 1928, an interesting volume on *The Syrian Christians* from the pen of Rao Bahadur Anantha Krishna Iyer. Another State publication is *The Castes and Tribes of H E H the Nizam's Dominions* in three volumes by Syed Saaj-ul Hassan, published in 1920. The Calcutta University published in 1928 a short discursive account in 84 pages of the *Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India* by Mr B C Majumdar, and another short cursory account of *The Hos of Serakela* by Dr A N Chatterjee and Mr T C Das in 1921. The same University published in 1927 a more substantial book on *Prehistoric India* (of which an earlier edition had appeared in 1923) by Prof Panehanan Mitra. The latest comprehensive and reliable account of *Prehistoric India* was published in 1929 by Prof V Rangaacharya of the Presidency College, Madras. A good little book on *Cultural*

articles on anthropology among other subjects, still continue to do so. The Management of the Anthropological Section of the *Indian Antiquary* is however no longer conducted in India, but in England, where under theegis of the Royal Anthropological Institute and with the formation of an Indian Research Committee in 1924 the anthropological section of that Journal is expected to be strengthened and improved. And in October last, *Man*, the monthly organ of the Royal Anthropological Institute, published a Special India Number which it is to be hoped, will in future form a permanent feature of that periodical.

A few new journals published in India, such as the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Society*, the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, and the *Vishva Bharati* now occasionally publish articles of anthropological interest and so also do a few popular journals, both English and Vernacular such as the *Modern Review*, *Prabāshi*, and *Prakriti*. I shall not tire your patience by giving an account of these and other anthropological articles on India which must be familiar to most of you and systematic references to which will be found in successive issues of the Journal entitled *Man in India*.

When we think of the rich harvest of anthropological material waiting to be gathered all over India and, here and there, decaying unseen and unused for we can by no means regard with complaisance the comparatively meagre additions made to our store of anthropological knowledge during the decade under review. There is however one notable incident to be mentioned which bids fair to revolutionize the accepted ideas of cultural and racial origins in India. I refer to the epoch making discovery, first made by our late lamented countryman Rakhial Das Banerjee, of the existence of wonderful remains of hoary antiquity in the Indus valley.

We have good cause to rejoice over the exploration of those remains on the plains of the Indus so enthusiastically conducted during the decade by the Archaeological Department of the Government of India, as they throw quite an unexpected and new light on India's prehistoric and ancient past. These startling discoveries of remains of prehistoric and ancient Indian culture dating back to neolithic, chalcolithic and copper ages and coming down to the rise of the Maurya power in the third century B.C. hold out promises of a rich harvest of materials for re-writing the cultural and racial

folk-rites folk-beliefs folk-tales and folk arts and crafts is not a mere idle pastime with students of folk-lore. It is pursued primarily for the light which folk-lore throws on the early intellectual evolution of human societies or what may be appropriately called the prehistory of the human mind. If exploration of prehistoric sites yields human fossils that elucidate the evolution of the human body, the study of folk-lore yields what Sir James Frazer has called 'fossils of the mind' which 'illustrate an early stage in the progress of thought from its low beginnings to heights yet unknown'.

As Prehistoric Archaeology, though primarily a branch of Anthropology is now taking rank as a science by itself, so too is folk-lore. And in some western countries, learned societies have been formed to foster and advance the study of this new science. I cannot express the aim and scope of the new science of folk-lore better than in the eloquent words of two former Presidents of the Folk-lore Society of London. And I hope you will bear with me if the quotations appear rather long.

Mr A R Wright in his Presidential Address to the Folk-lore Society in 1926 said 'Folk-lore is at the base of all other sciences, and appears in all of them at their early and unsophisticated stages and for its elucidation it must draw upon the history of all of them. Our Society must not only seek to construct in this way a living picture of the folk-life of the past, but it should bequeath to posterity as perfect a picture as it can achieve of the folk-life and mental attitude of the present. Our science, though it be one of the newest, ought to be one of the most attractive, and, were its scope and purpose clearly understood, ought to draw into the ranks of the Society enthusiastic workers not by single spies but by whole battalions.' Another former President of the Folk-lore Society, Andrew Lang speaking of the aim and scope of folk-lore 'which to many seems trivial to many seems dull' said —

'Only a few people seem interested in that spectacle, so full of surprises—the development of all human institutions, from fairy tales to democracy. In beholding it we learn that we owe all things, humanly speaking, to the people and to genius. The natural people the folk has supplied us, in its unconscious way, with the stuff of all our poetry, law, ritual and genius has selected from the mass, has turned customs into codes, nursery tales into romance, myth into science, ballad into epic, magic mummery into gorgeous ritual.

or attending a call of nature with our faces to the sun or with wooden shoes on, or while starting on a journey we avoid eating plantains, or meeting a barber or washerman or a oilman (*lalu*) or when in the evening we happen to look at the sky and find that only one star has appeared we do not take away our eyes until we see another, or, as in some places, three more stars

I shall not multiply instances, for they would be unending, and many instances of omens, good as well as bad, will readily occur to your minds. And yet, omens, as you know form but an infinitesimally small fraction of the wealth of our Indian folk-lore. Everyone of us daily comes across instances not only of traditional beliefs in omens and dreams, and various other classes of traditional beliefs customs and practices which the advanced section of the community now despise as superstitions, but also of folk sayings, folk tales, folk songs and ballads, and other arts and crafts of the folk that have been either handed down by tradition or have developed and are developing among the backward sections of our people under the influence of folk-ways of thinking and feeling, and which, though not actually despised, are regarded with amused toleration for their quaintness or patronized for affording entertaining diversion. Neglected in this way, much of our interesting folk lore as I said, is getting lost or degraded or attenuated or is being transformed through transference to new sets of objects or through amalgamation with other practices or beliefs.

What is now essential for the development of our science is, in the first place, to secure as accurate records as possible of such folk-lore materials as are still available. A systematic and classified collection and careful recording of different classes of existing folk-lore material, district by district, *taluk* by *taluk*, and *thana* area by *thana* area, or *pargana* area by *pargana* area, as is being done for the county areas in England, and for other local areas in other parts of Europe and in America, is the first and most imperative task that awaits students of Indian folk-lore.

The next task to which we have got to apply ourselves is to trace the life history of each item of folk rite, folk custom and folk-belief and then to make a careful analysis of each item of folk-lore into its component elements. An investigation into the life history of an item of folk lore embedded in civilization will reveal how it has in the course of its history been altered, attenuated, or transformed

over a dozen different ceremonies of which I shall enumerate the principal ones without describing them in detail. They are the following —

(1) *Gātra haridrā* or ceremonially anointing the bride and the bridegroom with turmeric paste at their respective houses on an auspicious day shortly before the day of marriage the process of anointing being repeated every day till the day of wedding (This corresponds to some extent to the *Ūbtan* or *aptan* ceremony of Bihārī Hindus though the Bihārī custom of *mātlôr* or digging earth from *lūr-khet* or *kumārī lsetra* is unknown in Bengal)

(2) *Adhībās* or inauguration ceremony consisting of invocation of divine blessings or rather the attraction of 'luck' through contact with the good 'mana' and kindly offices of well dressed married ladies beloved of their husbands, and through ceremonial contact with such auspicious objects as rice (both husked and unhusked) tender grass shoots (*dūrvā*), sandal wood, vermilion, myrobalan, curds, honey, *ghee* (clarified butter), flowers, white mustard, etc

(3) *Jal sādḥā* or *Jal sāuā* consisting of the ceremonial drawing of water by married women who are happy in their married life, for the benedictory bathing of the marrying couple and for certain other ceremonial uses at the wedding

(4) *Dadhī-mangal*, in which at early dawn of the wedding day a portion of the rice left over out of the rice used for the *ābhyūdayīl srāddha* or oblations to ancestor spirits and cooked by a woman whose husband is alive, is mixed with curds (*dahī*), sweets, etc and is eaten by the bridegroom at his own house and the bride at her parents' house. In some communities parched rice (*cirā*) instead of *bhāt* is used for the purpose and five married women eat it with the bride or bridegroom, as the case may be. After this the women go with an iron knife and a new earthen vessel to a tank and 'cut the water' as it is called, that is to say, draw a rectangle over the surface of the water with the knife and dip their earthen vessel three times, face upwards, into the rectangular area thus marked out, and fill it with water. This water is used as what is called 'sōhāg jal' or 'Love-water'. In the afternoon, after the *ābhyūdayīl srāddha* or offering of oblations to the manes of deceased ancestors by the bride's father or other male relatives, the bride wears a red-bordered *sārī* cloth and sits down in a room with a grain measure (*kūnkey*) or small cane-cup in hand and, from the vessel of 'sōhāg'-water placed

(7) *Strī ācār* proper, of which the main feature is the *Baran* or ceremonial circumambulation of the bridegroom at the bride's house by the bride's mother and a number of married women, one carrying the *varan dālā* or a flat bamboo basket containing various auspicious or 'mana'-possessing articles, one an ornamented phallic symbol called *Ālh*, made of rice flour fashioned in the shape of a cone and ornamented with red and yellow colours another carrying a pot of benedictory water with the figure of a deity drawn upon the outer surface of the pot, a fourth carrying a pot of water charmed with love incantations, a fifth an earthen pot with a lighted lamp inside, a sixth carrying on a brass plate an ornamented symbol of the goddess of Fortune (Laksmī) called *Siri* or *srī*, a seventh carrying the tray containing a variety of grains besides the *hāi āmlā* mentioned above and a few other ladies carrying other auspicious ingredients, and the mother-in-law carrying a flat bamboo basket containing twenty one lighted wicks placed over twenty one shells of the *dhūtūrā* fruit (*Datura*)

(8) *Sāt-pāl* or ceremonially carrying the bride round the bridegroom seven times

(9) *Sindūr-dān* or ceremonial anointment of bride and bridegroom with vermilion

(10) *Āngthi hārānō* or concealing the bridal ring of bride and bridegroom by turns inside the mud formed by water soaking in a small shallow hole made at the spot where the bridegroom and bride have just had their ceremonial bath on the morning after the actual marriage ceremony, and each attempting to find out the other's ring

(11) *Kanakāñjali* or the ceremonial handing over of some paddy by the bride to her mother by way of leaving her parent's 'luck' behind her and going to try her own luck in her husband's house¹

When we attempt to classify the female folk-rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage, we find that some are obviously meant to symbolize and cement the marriage-tie, some appear to be intended, on the principle of sympathetic magic, to make the union happy, prosperous and fruitful, some appear to have been intended to ward off supernatural evil influences and ill 'luck' from the wedded couple

¹ For an account of these rites of a Munda marriage vide *The Mundas and their country*, pp 444-454

irrational when found in advanced communities and are no longer intelligible to their civilized performers, become intelligible only when we view them side by side with analogous rites and ceremonies of more primitive communities for whom they have sufficient meaning and purpose, as they are in perfect accord with their manners and ideas

It is through such comparative study alone that we can see the primitive basis of such practices and their underlying beliefs. Thus, when we see the relatives of a Mündā or Ōrāon bride with the avowed object of scaring away evil spirits and the 'evil eye', flourishing swords round the screen within which the vermilion anointing (*sindūr dān*) ceremony of a marriage is taking place, we come to understand the original purpose of the Bengali custom which requires a bridegroom to carry in his hands a knife or a nut cracker which is obviously the present-day substitute for a sword. Similarly, when we see two elderly Mündā women, one carrying an unsheathed sword and another a bow and arrow, accompanying four maidens who draw water in pitchers for use in the marriage rites, and passing the weapons over their shoulders so as to touch the pitchers and thereby protect the water from the evil attentions of wicked spirits or the evil eye, we come to appreciate the original object behind the Bengali folk-custom of 'cutting with a *dā*' or vegetable cutter the water which is drawn from a tank at dawn on the wedding day for use as *sohāg jal*. When we see the bridegroom and bride in a Mündā marriage touching each other's neck with a bit of rag tinged respectively with his or her own blood, and probably by way of symbolic repetition of the same rite of exchange of blood, smear each other on the forehead with *sindūr* or red-lead, we perhaps see the significance of the *sindūr dān* rite which forms an essential feature of the female folk rites of a Bengali Hindu wedding, though it does not appear to form any part of the *Sāstric* ritual. The only application of blood to the forehead of the bridegroom in the female folk rites of a Bengali Hindu marriage now survives in the custom in some Bengali communities which requires an elder sister of the Bengali bride to prick her own little finger with a thorn of the *bael* (*Aegle marmalos*) tree and mark the forehead of the bridegroom with the blood thus drawn. The curious explanation now given for this practice is that in case the bride tells the bridegroom that she is afraid of going to his house lest his sisters harm her through their

higher civilization to bring higher ideals of religion and morality and social relations home to the minds of the more backward classes of their population

If a certain class of folk-rites and folk-customs connected with a Hindu marriage and their underlying ideas can be explained and understood by a reference to similar customs among our aboriginal tribes and other backward communities, there is another group of such folk rites whose true significance can only be appreciated by a reference to the highly advanced religious rites and customs enjoined by the Hindu *Sāstras*. In fact, some of our *strī-ācār* rites, like the *Ṛata* ceremonies of Hindu ladies, may be appropriately called the popular and simplified editions of corresponding *Sāstric* rites and ceremonies. They are meant to express emphasize and enhance the Hindu's belief in the spiritual nature and function of marriage. Thus the ceremonies referred to above as *adhibās* or ceremonial inauguration of the bridegroom and bride, *jal-sādhā* or ceremonial drawing of water for the auspicious wedding rites, *varan* or ceremonial welcome to the bridegroom with benedictory gestures and joyous ululation or sounds of *ūlū ūlū*, the waving of lamps and other auspicious objects, and the *pradaśina* or ceremonial circumambulation by married ladies round the bridegroom, which form prominent features of the *strī ācār* ceremonies of a Hindu marriage, are all only simplified forms of the distinctly religious ceremonies of the *adhibās*, *ghat ānayan*, *ārati* and *pradaśin* observed in the worship of the greater Hindu deities. The crowns made of coloured pith and tinsel (the *tōpar* of the bridegroom, and the *mōr* or *moun* of the bride) represent the *muluts* or crowns worn by the images of the higher Hindu gods and goddesses. The object of such female rites in a Hindu marriage is obviously to sacralize and sanctify the marriage tie, in the eyes of the unenlightened female-folk and other backward classes, and to elevate it, in their estimation, from a mere biological and socio-economical relationship to a holy religious sacrament. The wedded couple are honoured even as deities, thus emphasizing the spiritual essence of man and the spiritual function of all human relationships. Such *strī ācār* ceremonies would indeed appear to have been originally designed to serve as a system of suitable object teaching or 'kindergarten', so to say, by which to impress upon the female folk and the backward Hindu or Hinduized communities to whom the *Sāstric* rites and Sanskrit *mantras* or

blades, bread, etc., the counterpart of the Bengali's '*bhār-nāmāno*' ceremony in the '*Sutāmtōl*' ceremony of the Mündās, the counterpart of the Bengali's *Jātrā* ceremony in a part of the Mündā's *ūli-sākhī* ceremony in which the Mündā bridegroom on being asked by his mother where he is going, replies, 'I am going to bring one who will take care of you and give you rice and vegetables', the counterpart of the *varan* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Dā hurchī* and *Chumān* ceremonies of a Mündā marriage, the counterpart of the *Sāt-pāl* ceremony of a Bengali marriage in the *Chāuli-heper* ceremony of the Mündās as a part of which the Mündā bride is carried on a bamboo basket three times round the bridegroom, the counterpart of the *Sindūr-dān* ceremony of Bengali Hindu women in the *sindūri rākāb* ceremony of the Mündās, the counterpart of the *Āngthī-hārāno* ceremony of a Bengali Hindu marriage in the Mündā custom of *Dūl dā* in which after the *sindūri-rākāb* and *Dā āu* rites, while they are being ceremonially bathed, the Mündā bride and bridegroom each conceals, for the other to find out, a tiny earthen jug in the mud formed by the water in which they have been ceremonially bathed, and the *Kanakāñjali* ceremony of handing over of paddy by the Bengali bride to her mother by way of leaving her parents' *Lakshmī* or 'luck' with them, while taking leave of them, has its counterpart in the Mündā marriage rite of *Bābā-heretukām* in which the bride while leaving her parents' house throws, without looking back, three handfuls of paddy behind her, over her own head, on to her mother's *sāri*-cloth, a portion of which she holds out to receive the paddy

Again, the Mündās, like the Bihāri Hindus, set up a *Māndōā* or mud-pulpit for the ceremony of *sasāng gōsō* or anointing with vermillion, the *Chumān* ceremony of a Mündā marriage has a closer resemblance to the Bihāri ceremony of the same name than to its Bengali counterpart known as *strī-ācār*. The *ūli sākhī* ceremony of a Mündā marriage which has no analogue in Bengali marriage ceremonial is evidently a copy of the *Imli-ghōntāi* ceremony of a Bihāri Hindu marriage. The Mündā custom of seating the bride and bridegroom on a plough yoke covered over with straw has its parallel not in any Bengali custom but in the Bihāri custom of burying under the *māndōā* or marriage-booth a plough-yoke with some bamboo twigs. The Mündās, it may be noted, appear to have, in the course of their ancient migrations, come in contact with Hindus both of Bengal and

that though independent invention or parallel evolution of one and the same cultural trait sometimes occur in different centres and among different peoples, diffusion from a single source is a more common process in culture history. The discontinuous distribution on the map of a particular cultural trait may suggest independent origin at different centres, although some cases of apparent similarity may, on closer examination, be found to be merely accidental and not cases of identity. Again, what began as a wave of diffusion is sometimes found in the course of its progress to break up into local modifications which continue to develop each on its own line, and these parallel lines may again be found to converge, or they may variously combine with other cultural elements and thus constitute new culture complexes. Where several unrelated elements thus enter into combination to form a culture complex which is found in widely distant and unconnected regions, the common origin of such a culture complex or culture compound may be reasonably accepted. The greater the number of elements thus associated together in a single culture complex, the more probable becomes the inference of their common origin.

From what I have said it will be seen that the task of the folklorist in tracing the origins of different folk-customs and beliefs of a people, and in searching the causes of similarities in the folk customs of different peoples, is indeed not a very easy one. Either community of race, or racial intermixture may, of course, account for certain similarities in the folk culture of different peoples. Some cases of similarity or identity of custom may be due to cultural diffusion or cultural contact. Some may not unreasonably be referred to the similar working of the human mind in the same stage of intellectual development to meet the same needs. And some, may be the peculiar heritage of a particular people, introduced by their religious and social leaders to educate the more backward sections of their population. It is when we come to the large class of incongruous and inconsistent folk customs and beliefs surviving from different stages of culture and found among one and the same people that the difficulty in tracing folk-lore origins becomes much more serious.

A race of immigrants into a new region may adopt some items or elements from the folk culture of the ruder indigenous population, and the indigenes may also in turn borrow from the incomers

the Dōms (154,320),¹ the Hāris (98,084), the Mehtars (7,724), the Pelās Hālākhōrs (18,586), the Tūris (43,360), the Bāuris (15,826), the Mōchis (1,123), the Chāmārs (31,661), the Ghāsis (8,216), the Ghūsūrīs (1,972), the Gōkhās (44,873), the Kāndrās (148,671), the Kebās (6,103), the Pāns (199,519), the Sīyāls (1,030) the Gāndās (87,717), the Musāhars (603,911) the Dhōbis (91,612) and few other smaller communities,

in *BENGAL*, the Bāgdīs (1,015,738), the Bāuris (303,611), the Bhūmmālis (91,973), the Chāmārs (136,533) and their kinsmen the Mūchis (455,236), the Dōms (173,991) and their kinsmen the Hāris (173,706), the Dōsādhs (45,863), the Kāorās (112,281), the Nāmāsudras (1,908,728), the Pōds (536,568), the Tīyārs (215,270), the Dhōbās (228,052), and a few others,

in the *UNITED PROVINCES*, the Chāmāis (6,076,081), the Dōmārs (7,764) the Bānsphōis (7,292), the Bhāngis (397,861), the Khātīk (181,873), the Bājgis (5,818), the Dhanuks (129,250), the Sunkārs (9,406), the Bālāhars (1,988), the Bābeliyās (34,211), the Saiqualgārs (1,250), the Kōris (859,882), the Rājes (2,827), the Rangrezes (34,012), the Dhōbis (623,049) besides a few small communities such as the Rangās, the Tāmoli, and the Gharāmī, etc ,

in the *CENTRAL PROVINCES*, the Chāmārs (901,549), the Mehtars (29,916), the Pānkās (214, 894), the Ghāsis (43,142), the Māngs (83,576), the Mehrās (1,65,177), the Basers (52,947), the Bālāhis (52,314), the Gāndās (157,787), the Kātias (41,311), the Kōris (39,628), the Dhōbis (165,427), the Kūmhārs (118, 520), and a few others,

in the *BOMBAY PRESIDENCY*, the Chāmārs or Chāmbārs or Mōchis (211,853), the Bhāngis (91,856), the Māhārs, the Hōhyās or Dheds (1,081,716), the Māngs or Mādigs (227,697), the Dhōrs (10,916), the Khalās (6,507), the Shindhavas (4,265), the Tūris (711), and the Kolghās (375), and a few others,

in the *MADRAS PRESIDENCY*, the Hāddis (23,124), the Bāuris (57,400), the Oriyā Dāndāsīs (41,768), the Medāres (21,158), the Pārāiyāns or Panchamas (2,337,036), the Hōleyās (91,558), the Valluvāns (59,163) the Mādīgās (737,427), the Chākkīyāns (549,807), the Mālās (1,493,129), the Pallāns (862,685), the Kōrāgās, (5,287),

¹ All the census figures given in this paper are of the census of 1921

research. If he lacks the means and opportunities for exploring ancient sites and investigating the prehistory of Indian Man by digging up human fossils and implements and artefacts of the Stone and Copper ages, he cannot surely lack opportunities for unravelling the prehistory of Indian thought and culture as revealed in folk-lore. If he lacks opportunities for pursuing field work in Anthropology among our primitive jungle tribes, he can surely find no less interesting subjects for anthropological investigation among our 'depressed classes' of different grades of culture, some of whom may be his own next-door neighbours.

ARE THE GOTRAS AND PRAVARAS OF KSHATRIYAS THE SAME AS THOSE OF BRĀHMANAS ?

MAJOR M L BHARGAVA I M S

Rao Bahadur C V Vaidya, M A LL B in his *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Volume II Chapter V and the note attached to the same has tried to prove that the Gotras and Pravaras of Kshatriyas are the same as those of Brāhmanas which are mentioned in the Vedic Sūtras But a careful study of his arguments shows that the learned author has not been able to study the subject thoroughly and has been consequently misled

From certain *Rg Vedic* Mantras, such as X-14-6 and 7, X-92-10, VIII-43-13 and VIII-6-18 etc, from the ancient name of the *Atharva Veda* being Bhrgav-Āngrās or Atharv-Āngras Samhitā and even from certain passages in the *Mahābhārata*, Vana parva Chapters 221 223 and 230, it is possible to trace that at the time of the formation of a separate priestly order amongst the Āryas of the Sapta-Sindhava it consisted of three families or clans only, viz the Bhrgus, the Angirās and the Atharvanas It seems that the Atharvanas migrated to Persia The priests of the Perso-Aryans were called Atharvanas (*vide* 'Indo Aryan Races' by Chanda, part I, page 33, 'Rig Vedic India' by Das, page 177 'Vedic India' by Ragozin, page 165 'Media, Babylonia and Persia' by Ragozin, pages 42, 118 and 179, etc), while there is no mention of Atharvana Rsi amongst the Pravaras or the founders of the Gotras of the Brāhmanas of India in the Srauta Sūtras Later on two more clans, viz those of the Vasisthas and Kasyapas joined the priestly order of India and thus we come to the passage in the Sānti parva of the *Mahābhārata* quoted by Mr Vaidya, in which there is a clear mention of the number and names of the Root (मूल) Gotras of Brāhmanas It shows that, at the time to which the tradition mentioned in the sloka refers there were only four original families, or Root Gotras, or clans, amongst the Brāhmanas, viz those of the Bhrgus, the Angirās, the Vasisthas and the Kasyapas

Mr Vaidya says 'They were progenitors of all the three Aryan classes, Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas' and 'They in fact were not Brāhmana Rishis but Ārya Rishis' The learned author,

Visvāmitra, i.e. they also recognize the seven Root Gotras. Under the heading 'Bhrgus' they not only describe Jamadagnis (including Vatsas, Vidas and Anistasenas) but also four other sub-clans, viz the (1) Sunakas or Gitsamadas, (2) Vitahavyas or Yāskas, (3) Vadhryasvas or Mitryuvas, and (4) Venas, Prthas or Saitas. Similarly, under the heading 'Angrās' are described not only Gotamas and Bharadvājas but also six others, viz (1) Rathitaras, (2) Mudgalas, (3) Viṣṇu Vrddhas, (4) Haritas or Kutsas, (5) Kanvas, and (6) Sankritis. From the rules of exogamy described by them it is quite clear that these ten were also regarded as Gotras, as members of each of them are prohibited from intermarriages amongst themselves, and are directed to marry with girls of any of the other 17 sub-clans, barring a few exceptions in case of those who are called double gotris (द्विगोत्री). There is no need to discuss them in detail here, except stating that the additional four sub-clans of the Bhrgus and the additional six sub-clans of the Angrās are not descendants of Jamadagni and Gotama and Bharadvāja respectively. It is enough to add that the number of exogamous sub-clans or sub-gotras was in reality eighteen and not eight at that time. Five of these were divisions of the Bhrgu clan or Root Gotra and eight those of the Angrā clan, while the remainder five clans had only one division each, bearing naturally the same name as the original clan.

This shows that the number of the Brāhmana clans or Root Gotras had increased from four to seven by the addition of the Agastyas, the Atris, and the Visvāmitras. From the story of the quarrel between the Vasiṣṭhas and the Visvāmitras, referred to in Rg III-53 and narrated in Bṛhaddevatā IV-112 to 120 and further elaborated in the Epics and the Purāṇas it is clear that, at the time of the admission of the Visvāmitras to the Brāhmana class, the Vasiṣṭhas had raised a strong opposition, though the Bhrgus (or Jamadagnis) had favoured it. It was, most probably, after this struggle that the then existing seven clans of the Brāhmanas appear to have decided not to allow any other Yajamāna family to join the Brāhmana class and form more separate clans or Root Gotras. But as there were no fixed castes then, but only classes, and as naturally the Yajamānas would strongly object to this exclusion, a compromise was arrived at by allowing such Yajamāna families, as deserved and desired, to join the priestly order, provided they did not form

the word "Purohita" means those who acted for the benefit of their Yajamānas since ancient days. Also, if they take their own Pravaras, all of them will have the same Pravaras and hence they will not be able to intermarry amongst themselves as that (avoidance of similar Pravaras in marriage) is the rule.

The same rule applies to the Vaisyas, as then Purohitas are their advocates or representatives and priests and as, on account of the sameness of their own Pravaras, they too will not be able to intermarry amongst themselves on account of similar Pravaras.

Raja means one who is consecrated as a King. Some hold that even if a Brāhmana obtains a kingdom he should also recite the Pravaras of his Purohita as those (Brāhmana Kings) do have Purohitas.

According to this view Yajamānas should not intermarry if the Gotras (which evidently means clans or sub-clans here) of their Purohitas are the same.

Vijñāneshwar says 'Although, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, not having special Gotras of their own, have no Pravaras as well, the Gotra and Pravaras of the Purohita are to be understood. Thus Āśvalāyana having promised, "He takes the Pravaras of his sacrificer" says "the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas take the Pravaras of their Purohitas".'

The Author of *Pravara Darpana* says 'According to Āpastamba, there are two views —

- (1) The Pravaras of the Kshatriyas are Mānava, Aila, and Paururavā and their Gotra Manu. The Pravaras of Vaisyas are Bhālandana, Vātsapri and Mānkil and their Gotra Bhalandana or Vatsapri.
- (2) They should take the Gotra and Pravaras of their Purohitas.

The rule given by Vijñāneshvara is based on the latter viz. "they take the Pravaras of their Purohitas". This is according to Āpastamba. The basis of the rule is that all of them (Kshatriyas) being of Manu Gotra they cannot intermarry amongst themselves. Manu not being amongst the (Gotra Kāra) Rishis the meaning is that they have no real Gotra. Therefore Kshatriyas and Vaisyas should avoid the Gotra and Pravaras of their Purohitas in marriage.

Evidently these later writers were quite ignorant of the Gotra system of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. The Kshatriyas and Vaisyas of at least Northern India, have got their own special Gotras even

the same or a Jāmadagnya Bhārgava, (13) Ātreya, (14) Vatsya, a Jāmadagnya Bhārgava, (15) Maudgalya, a Kevala Āngiras and others, whose families I cannot trace, were the Sadasyus I am not aware what the Brāhmanical Gotra, if any, of Janamejaya was But it is quite evident that at least 14 of his Rtvijas and Sadasyus were members of different clans, viz the Bhārgavas, Āngirasas, Vāsisthas, Kāśyapas, Ātreyas, and Vaisvāmītras, and therefore of wholly different Pravaras Consequently the interpretation of the Sūtra given by Mr Vaidya could not be correct

The learned author has raised certain questions regarding the above quoted Sūtras The word 'चरि' is quite clear It means 'their own Rsis, i.e. Pravaras' The word 'चरि' is evidently a misreading for चरि The Pravara group does not offer any puzzle at all No doubt the modern Purānas give the story of Pururavas being the son of Idā or Ilā changed into a woman Ilā But obviously it could not be a historical fact The older *Mahābhārata* clearly states that Manu begot Ilā and Ilā begot Pururavas (*vide* Ādiparva, Chapter 95) But even a woman could be a Mantra Krtā and hence a Pravara Rsyāni No doubt this Pravara group cannot be used by the Solar race Kshatriyas, but all Kshatriyas are not stated to possess their own Pravara Rsis In fact most of the Kshatriyas, having Mantra Krtās amongst their ancestors, joined the Brāhmana Varna and many of them belonged to the Solar race I do not know if the available Śākhās of the Rīgveda contain any Mantra composed by Ilā or not, but it is not necessary that a Pravara Rsi should be a composer of a *Rīg Vedic* Mantra There are three other Vedas, a composer of any of the Mantras of which, could become a Pravara Rsi In any case the name of Ilā or Aila is mentioned in the list of Mantra Krtā Rsis given in Chapter 145 of the Matsya Purāna

The Smṛti rule असमानार्थगोत्रजास् could apply to and was meant only for Brāhmanas who have seven wholly different sets of Pravara groups It could not and in fact did not apply to Kshatriyas in early days, as, otherwise, the Yādavas and the Pauravas and the Kauravas and the Pāñcālās of old, who, according to traditions, were all descendants of Yayāti and the Sisodhiās and Kachvāhās of to day, who claim descent from Rama Candra, could not intermarry In fact the confusion arose, when this dictum was mistakenly made to apply to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas Otherwise, the Kshatriyas and

examples of the first, with Tāraksya as their first Kshatriya Mantra Krtā Pravara Rsi and Āngiras as their first Brāhmana Pravara Rsi, while the Kānvas are an example of the other, having only one first Pravara Rsi, viz Āngiras, the first Pravara Rsi of their adoptive clan

Still later the Yajamānas were not allowed to form even separate sub clans, but had to join the Brāhmana Varna as a section of one of the 18 sub clans. The Gārgyas are an example of this, as indicated by their first group of five Pravaras, with Āngiras, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja as the first, second and third Pravaras respectively. The existence of their alternative group of three Pravaras, viz Āngiras, Gārgya and Samya, shows that they too had tried to establish a separate sub clan, like the Kānvas, with only the Brāhmana Pravara Āngiras as their first, but without success. They are considered a section of the Bhāradvāja sub clan and are not allowed to intermarry with other Bhāradvājas.

Similarly the Kshatriyas, too, might have adopted Brāhmanas in their families, as in the case of a Bharadvāja giving himself as a son to Bharata, who had no issue left, quoted by Mr Vaidya. This Bharadvāja must have become a Kshatriya in consequence, though evidently he could not have been the great Bharadvāja Rishi, son of Brihaspati and grandson of Āngirā. It might have been a Brāhmana with accidentally the same name or possibly a Bhāradvāja, i.e. a descendant of Bharadvāja. He might have founded a separate clan or sub clan, etc., of the Kshatriyas and might have kept his own Pravaras too.

But all that is proved by these facts is that, in those days, the Brāhmanas did not form a water-tight and exclusive caste and that Yajamāna families could become Brāhmanas, if they so desired and had Mantra Krtās amongst them. It is also proved that a Brāhmana could adopt a Kshatriya as his son and vice versa. These facts also explain how certain sub clans and sections of Brāhmanas happen to have certain Mantra Krtā ancestors amongst their Pravaras, who were born Kshatriyas. But it is not apparent, how it could be proved from them, that all Āryas, Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas are descendants of the first Pravara Rsis of Brāhmanas and have common Pravaras and Gotras, described under the seven clans of Brāhmanas in the Srauta Sūtras. Nor is it clear, that as certain Brāhmanas, whose Kshatriya ancestors had joined the

relationship with each other. Some are descendants of a Sunaka with one Pravara Saunaka, others of Grtsamada with one Pravara Gārtsamada, others of Gitsamada, son of Sunakahotra, a descendant of Bhrgu with Bhārgava and Gārtsamada as their Pravaras, and still others descendants of another and different Saunaka with Pravaras as Bhārgava, Saunakahotra and Gārtsamada. But if that be true, why they all should be included in one sub clan, the Saunakas or Gārtsamadas of the Bhārgavas, and prohibited from intermarrying amongst themselves. The only conclusion one could safely arrive at is that Gitsamada was an adopted son of Sunaka and that he was taken from another family, be it the Bhāradvāja Āngiras or Lunar race of Purnava or Solar race of Vitahavya.

Another noteworthy point in this connection is that there is a sub clan of the Bhārgavas named after Vitahavya. It is also known as Yāsk. But there is no section or sub section of this clan named after Grtsamada. It is thus quite clear that the family histories given in the Epics and the Purānas cannot always be taken as authentic.

Now I take up another line of argument. I have myself not been able to collect the names of the Brāhmana and Kshatriya families (clans and sub clans, etc.) mentioned in the *Rig Veda*. But according to *The Indo Aryan Races*, by Mr R Chanda, Part I, page 11, the Aryans of the *Rig Veda* were divided into two different social grades, one the Rsis or priest poet clans such as Atharvanas, Angrasas, Bhrgus (Jamadagnis), Atris, Vasisthas, Bharadvajas, Gotamas, Kasyapas, Agastyas, Kanvas and Viśvāmitras (Kusikas), and the other class including the warrior tribes such as Yadus, Turvasus, Purns, Anus, Druhyus, Trtsus, Bharatas, Srñjayas, Rusmas, Matsyas, Cedis, Krivis and others. We know from the Sūtras, etc., that the first group consists of the names of the clans and sub clans (Gotras) of Brāhmanas. Evidently the other group is composed of the names of the clans and sub-clans (Gotras) of Kshatriyas, if not of Vaisyas as well. Thus it is clear that according to Mr Chanda the Yajamānas, or in any case the Kshatriyas, had their own clans and sub clans (Gotras), separate from those of Brāhmanas and peculiar to themselves, in the Rig Vedic age. In the Epics too, we find, that the same holds true. There are hundreds of Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas mentioned in the *Rāmāyāna* and the *Mahābhārata*, mostly by their personal names as well as family names, and often by personal or

ṭha, Gotama, Bharadvāja, Atri, Agastya, Jāmadagnya, Bhārgava, Vāmadeva, Jāvāli, Kāśyapa, etc

Similarly in the *Mahābhārata* hundreds of Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas are mentioned by their family names (elans, sub elans, sections or sub sections or in other words Gotras), but each class has its own special names. Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva is called Yādava, Mādhava and Vārsneya, etc, but never Ātreva or by any other Brāhmanical family name. The Pāndavas and Dhārtarāstras are called Paururavās, Pauravas, Bhāratas, and Kauravas, etc, but never by a Gotra name of the Brāhmanas. Similar is the case with Pāñcālas, Somakas, Siñjayas, Matsyas, Cedis, Andhakas, Bhojas, Saivyas, Saandhyas, Sauviras, Mādras, Gāndhāras, Angas, Vangas, and a host of other Kshatriyas. On the other hand, the Purohita of the Pāndavas is called Dhaumya, Drona either Bhāradvāja or Āngiras, Kṛpa either Śāradvata, Gautama or Āngiras and Rāma of the axe, Jāmadagnya or Bhārgava.

The same is the case with Purāṇas, which are supposed to be the special repositories of the Kshatriya traditions. A certain school of thought refers to Purāṇas as 'Kshatriya Literature', as opposed to Śrūtis and Smṛtis, which they designate as 'Brāhmanical Literature'. But even in these, the Kshatriyas are mentioned by family names, stated above and not by Brāhmanical Gotra names.

In my opinion it is as clear as daylight, that from the times of the Rig Veda to those of the Purāṇas, the Brāhmanas and the Kshatriyas had separate family names (Gotras), peculiar to each class, and not common to both, except in the rare case of mere coincidence of names, such as Gotamas and Vatsas, etc.

The first mention of Brāhmanical Gotras in association with Kshatriya elan or sub elan names, so far as I know, is found in the inscriptions, referred to by Mr Vaidya. These start after the decline of Buddhism and after the conversion of majority of Hindus to the revived Brāhmanic religion. There is no doubt that some ruling and other well-to-do families of Rājputs describe their Brāhmanical Gotras and Pravaras, though the latter mostly incorrect, even to day. But it is also a fact that the ordinary Rājputs of Rājputāna, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Ambala Division of the modern Punjab and the Delhi Province do not do so, and if asked to state their Gotras, will give the names of their Kshatriya clans or sub-clans, etc. A Chāhmāna of a certain type may describe his Gotra as

according to which every Brāhmana, while invoking the sacred Agni, had to recite the names of his most prominent early ancestors, who were Mantra Krtās, up to a total number of five and by means of which he could trace the relation of his sub section (the present Gotra) with its parent section, sub clan and clan. On the other hand many of the Kshatriyas did not have Mantra Krtā ancestors, whom they could mention in the invocation of Agni, nor were they particular in avoiding intermarriages between remote cousins, as evidenced by the marriages of Dasaratha with Kausalyā, of Rāma with Sitā, of Pāndu with Kuntī, of the Pāndavas with Draupadī, and of Arjuna with Subhadrā, etc., if the genealogies given in the Epics and the Purānas are to be trusted. Kausalyā means a princess of the Kauśala family, to which also belonged Daśaratha, while the Yādavas, the Kauravas, and the Pāncālas are all said to be descendants of Pururavā through Yayāti, both human ancestors. They therefore could not have a Pravara system like that of Brāhmanas, who had a separate group of Pravaras for each section of every sub clan of the seven original clans. But the Brāhmanas had brought into practice the custom of reciting Pravaras every time the sacred Agni was invoked, and something had to be done to have the custom, at least formally, observed by the other Dvijas also, all of whom did not have Pravaras. They were therefore required to have the Pravaras of their Purohitas recited in the sacrifices and rituals performed on their behalf by their Purohitas. Hence the dictum 'Purohita Pravaro Rajnāma'.

On conversion from Buddhism to the revived Brāhmanism, the leading Kshatriya families were encouraged to consider the Pravaras of their Purohitas as their own, and as their own Gotras could not be associated with the Pravaras of their Purohitas, they were further taught to consider the Gotras of their Purohitas also as their own. And these new converts naturally accepted them with the proverbial zeal of new converts and mentioned them in their inscriptions, etc., as in their eyes this was an important part of their new religion. But to the ordinary Kshatriya his own family name, clan or sub clan, etc., remained his Gotra as it does even to day. The Rajput kings and nobles of to day also remember their own clan names or Gotras, like Chauhāna, Tuara, Parmāra, etc., which they scrupulously avoid in marriage connections, in addition to their Brāhmanical Gotras, of which the ordinary Rajput knows nothing. It is

same families must have been detailed to take up the priestly work, and gradually the priestly class got differentiated from the warrior Bhr̥gu, Angirā, Atharvana, Vasistha Kasyapa, Agastya and Ati the pioneers of the priestly order, must have been born in one or other of these aristocratic families, though we do not know the names of their parents and ancestors in most cases. It could thus be more safely asserted that the Brāhmanas are descendants of Kshatriya ancestors who in their turn are descendants of Vaisya progenitors, both of them being specialized sections of the general Aryan public.

THE CULT OF BHŪTADĀMARA

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It is now undisputed that the three great religious systems of India developed their own pantheons, each following its own traditions, and for this purpose deities were often borrowed from one pantheon to another. This process of borrowing has been going on from time immemorial, and as probably the Hindus were the first to develop their pantheon, both Jainism and Buddhism in earlier stages commonly ransacked the Hindu gods for building up their own pantheons. By using the word 'Pantheon' it is not the intention to emphasize that the Buddhists and Jainas worshipped the deities or were idol worshippers, but only to show that the followers of both acknowledged or recognized several gods in their earlier stages.

But later on, particularly in the Tāntric age, which practically begins with the beginning of the seventh century, the Buddhists were the first to claim a full, scientifically classified, and thoroughly efficient pantheon. The Hindus had their pantheon in the Purāṇas at some earlier period and as this was somewhat attractive to the Buddhists and the Jainas, the two latter freely incorporated a large number of the Paurāṇic deities into their own pantheons. But in the Tāntric age the Buddhists headed the list, and their pantheon, for reason of the wealth and variety of gods and goddesses, created a profound impression on the followers of the Hindu and Jaina faith, and they did not hesitate to borrow and incorporate as many of the deities of the Buddhist pantheon as would satisfy their wants. In the matter of the pantheon the Jainas were always lagging behind, and in this respect they never developed any originality or wealth of ideas, and as their pantheon is the smallest possible it is not proposed to deal with it at any great length. But the inter-relation between the Buddhist and Hindu pantheons was remarkable, and the deities in these two religious systems were so intermixed that it has now become almost impossible to distinguish between the two classes. The position has thus become very complicated as the Tāntric system of the Buddhists is almost forgotten, so much so, that many will not believe that the Buddhists ever had any pantheon or deities, and therefore a large

stroke of their sword destroyed all vestige of this once mighty religion. Few people can imagine why the Muhammadans fixed the Buddhists as their target of attack, but the reason for this is not very far to seek. The Buddhist religion behaved in concentration in monasteries since its very inception at the time of Buddha and one reason of the great popularity it at that time and subsequently enjoyed, was that Buddhism could provide a haven of rest for its followers. Hinduism never behaved in concentration, but always advocated decentralisation. With the Hindus the religion was a cottage industry, and the heads of social organizations always made it a point to see that every one in every house follows the doctrines and practices prescribed in the Sāstras. There was a powerful social organization behind the Sāstras, and the individuals and householders had to take care not to provoke the wrath of the society by disobeying the mandates of the Sāstras.

With the Buddhists, monasteries were a necessity from very early times owing to the peculiar restrictions and discipline enjoined by Buddha on his followers. Buddhism, moreover, had no respect for the society as it was mostly concerned with outcastes or low castes consisting of original inhabitants of the country not affiliated to the orthodox social hierarchy, and for that reason also separate organizations like the monasteries were a necessity in Buddhism. Since then, the followers of Buddhism behaved in monasteries, built new ones, equipped them with buildings, paintings, beautiful carvings of stone, images of exquisite beauty, and enriched them to a great extent with the accumulated wealth of ages. Some of the monasteries presented the appearance of forts, and as the monks were dressed in one particular fashion they resembled an army of soldiers. So long the Hindus remained at the helm of political power in India these monasteries, monks and even the Buddhists were not harmed except on rare occasions, because the Hindu rulers always practised toleration in religious matters, and sometimes even embraced religions other than their own. And hence the Buddhists were safe in the hands of the Hindu rulers, but when the Muhammadans came their chief objective was to loot and conquer. They took the monasteries to be forts, and the monks to be uniformed soldiers, and forthwith annihilated them and Buddhism along with them, and thus indirectly saved Hinduism from further disruption, and helped its followers in consolidating their position. To Hinduism they could do very little

in the Sādhnamālā referring to the worship of the same deity. Two of these Sādhnanas are assigned to two authors of Tāntric Buddhism namely, Vairocana and Trailokyavajra.³ It is easy to assign a date to Vairocana as he is the same as Vairocana Raksita who is said to have been a disciple of Guru Padmasambhava who went to Tibet to reform the Buddhism of that country when king Khri Sron lde Btsan was reigning in Tibet. This king is believed to have reigned between A D 728-764 and as Vairocana was also his contemporary it is not unreasonable to assign him a period ranging from the second quarter of the 8th century. Very little, however, is known about the other author who referred to the deity Bhūṭadāmara, except to mention that his name occurs in a manuscript of the Sādhnamālā which was written in 1165 A D, and therefore the author cannot be later than the beginning of the 12th century.⁴ It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the cult of Bhūṭadāmara was very well known in the time of Vairocana Raksita in the middle of the 8th century.

As regards the Tantra of Bhūṭadāmara it must be stated in the beginning that it has no connection with the Dāmara literature of the Hindus. The Dāmaras⁵ is a division of the Tāntric literature of the Hindus and six principal Dāmaras are recognized, namely, Sivadāmara (11,007 verses), Yogadāmara (23,533 verses), Dūrgā dāmara (11,503), Sārasvatadāmara (9,905 verses), Brahmadāmara (7,105 verses) and Gandharvadāmara (60,060 verses). Though a list of Dāmaras is mentioned in the Vārāhītantra, the Dāmaras as a rule exist only in name. The word Dāmara means 'Camatkāra' or magic, and as the Tantras are concerned mostly with magic and magical feats it is no wonder that a class of literature will be called by the name of Dāmara. Bhūṭadāmara, however, seems to be the name of a deity and as the Bhūṭadāmara Tantra deals with the different rites connected with his worship it is known by that name, and therefore is unconnected with the Dāmara literature of the Hindus. Moreover, as will be shown later on, the origin of the Tantra is definitely Buddhist, and so it is unreasonable to associate

³ *Ibid*, pp 514, 524

⁴ For the dates of Vairocana and Trailokyavajra, see also *ibid* Introduction, ccx, ccxi, and P N Bose *Indian Teachers in Indian Universities*, p 42

⁵ *Sabdālpadruma* article on Dāmara

of an Assembly of the Faithful surrounding Buddha Bhagavān, who sits in a variety of meditations and gives out certain new truths not preached by him before when he came down to the earth as Kāśyapa or Dipankara.⁶ The Assembly members occasionally interrupt the Bhagavān with their doubts which are cleared by him. Occasionally, his new tenets are opposed by the members when Bhagavān becomes angry and mysteriously makes every one unconscious,⁷ but revives them again when they realize their folly and send forth a volley of praise for the Bhagavān. The more important Tantras are in this form, but later on the elaborate proceedings of the Sangītis began shortening and ultimately the introductory portions were considered as unnecessary and useless, and therefore discarded.

The Bhūṭadāmarā Tantra begins abruptly without much introduction in the form of an elaborate description of the Assembly of the Faithful together with the names of the principal members as is usual with this class of Sangītis. Therefore, the Tantra, though in a Sangīti form does not conform to all the rules that make a Sangīti. This leads us to believe that the Tantra must have belonged to a later age when elaborate formalities were not considered necessary in Buddhism for introducing new innovations. In the Bhūṭadāmarā Tantra, Bhagavān Mahāvajradhara is the principal speaker, and the Assembly contain several important and powerful personages among whom we recognize the familiar figure of Mahādeva who is represented as freely interrupting the Bhagavān either with his doubts or prayers for the elucidation of particular points.

It is not at all unlikely that the Bhūṭadāmarā Tantra for the first time ushered into existence the cult of Bhūṭadāmarā, because, otherwise, we do not see any necessity of a special Sangīti introducing his worship, as Sangītis only become necessary when new ideas, new thoughts, and new doctrines are introduced into Buddhism. Before a summary of the Tantra and its subject matter is given it may be said that though the cult of Bhūṭadāmarā may not be contemporaneous with the introduction of such ancient deities as

⁶ In the *Guhyasamāja*, 17th Chapter, this has been distinctly stated. This work which is expected to come out shortly is being printed for the *Gaelwad s Oriental Series* [Since published, 1931.]

⁷ This episode occurs both in the *Guhyasamāja* and in the *Bhūṭadāmarā Tantra*.

the later and the more modified form of the original Buddhist Tantra, I shall give here the contents of the two Tantras side by side for the facility of comparison —

Buddhist

1 The first chapter opens with a description of Mahāvajradhara who recites at the request of Mahādeva a particular Mantra for subduing the diverse kinds of ghosts and demons. Immediately destructive rays of light issue forth from the person of the Bhagavān, and all the diverse kinds of ghosts and demons are seen consumed by the fire of the rays. Later on, he again utters the Mṛtasāñjivani Mantra in order to revive the demons after showing his wonderful might and valour, and the wind that comes out from the nose of Vajradhara touches the dead bodies of the ghosts and demons and they are revived forthwith. They begin trembling thereafter and unconditionally place themselves at the protection of Vajradhara, and their lord Aparājita falls at his feet and wants protection. The Bhagavān later on extracts from them a promise that they will render all possible help to the inhabitants of Jambudvīpa, supply them with their daily needs, food, garments, gold, jewels and the like, and keep them protected from the fear

Hindu

First Patala

1 Unmattabhairava wants to know how gods like Brahmā, Indra, Siva, etc., were killed and the methods by which the dead come back to life again. In reply Unmattabhairava recites the Bhūṭadāmarā Tantra which bestows the final liberation as soon as it is known. At this stage the commentary begins with 'asyārthah' thus

'Atha Bhūṭadāmaram vak-
ṣye mantrinām hitakā-
mayā

Yasya vijñānamātreṇa man-
trasiddhim-upalabhet

Unmattau Vajrapānaye ma-
hākrodhādhipataye

Vyomavyāpī mahākāyam
abhedyaabhedakam tathā
Pralayārkam-iva tyugram
prabhāmandaladuḥsaham

Gunaratnākaram suddham
baddham bhumau pratis-
thitam

Namāmi sarvabhāvena Bhū-
ṭadāmaranāyakam

Athato Bhūṭadāmaramahā-
tantrarāja bhūtabhūtini-
śā dhanāvīdhivistaram
pravakṣyāmi

Ityāha bhagavān Mahā-
vajradharas trilokyādhi-
patih

Buddhist

order to attain the different perfections. These Sundarīs are named as Śrī Bhūṭakula Sundarī, Śrī Vijaya Sundarī, Śrī Vimala Sundarī, Śrī Ceti Sundarī, Śrī Maṇohara Sundarī, Śrī Bhūkhanda Sundarī, Śrī Dhṛvaḥ Sundarī and Śrī Caksumatī-Sundarī.

3 In the second chapter the Mahābhūṭinī Smaśānapravesinī by name touches the feet of Vajradhara and reveals to him her Mantras. As the number of Smaśānas are eight she also gives eight Mantras for the eight presiding deities of the different burning grounds. Then follows the description of the different Mudrās and Sādhana for the attainment of perfection (Siddhi). The eight Smaśānapravesinīs are named in the Tantra as follows: Ghoramukhī, Daṁṣṭrākārāḥ, Jarjaramukhī, Kamalaloṇī, Vīkatamukhī, Dhundharī, Vidyutkarālī, Saumyamukhī.

4 In the third chapter Mahāraudrabhūṭinī, Candakātyāyanī by name, touches the feet of the Bhagavān and reveals her Mantra. As Kātyāyanīs are eight

Hindu

and Mudrās connected with the rites. The Sundarīs when pleased or subdued by Mantras do immense service to the worshipper and a list of such works as can be obtained from them then follow in the same line, mainly in the same words as found in the Buddhist version. The number and names of the Sundarīs are the same as given in the Buddhist version.

Fourth Patala

3 Describes the Sādhana, Mantra, and Mudrā of the eight Smaśānavāsinīs or the presiding deities of the burning grounds. The names and number of the deities are the same as described in the Buddhist version.

Fifth Patala

4 Unmattabhairava reveals the Sādhana, Mudrā and Mantra for the eight Bhūta Kātyāyanīs and describes the method of worship and the perfections

Buddhist

7 In the fifth Kalpa Vajrapāṇi gives a sermon on the merits to be gained by the mere sight of the Mandala, by the mere utterance of the name of Vajradhara and perfections to be gained by the various practices recommended. Then he gives a list of Sādhana and detailed directions for the attainment of Siddhi, and for killing and subduing a number of gods such as Mahādeva Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā Sakra Kumāra Ganeśa, Bhairava Narttesvara, Mahākāla and others.

8 Then follow some verses and Mantras and directions for making the Bhūtiniś work as servants or protect the worshipper as his mother by supplying him with all his needs, wealth and comforts. The Bhūtiniś are recognized here as eight in number to wit Vibhūṣanī, Kundalahārini, Simhālī, Hāsinī, Natī, Ratī, Kāmeśvarī and Devī.

9 Next the Tantra deals with the Mantras and the differ-

Hindu

Seventh Patala

7 In this small chapter Unmattabhairava gives directions for certain rites which lead to diverse kinds of perfections by killing or destroying (Māraṇa) several important gods.

Eighth Patala

8 Unmattabhairava reveals the Sādhana of Cetikās and enumerates the different services obtainable from Bhūtiniś and Kuṅjaravati.

Ninth Patala

The same subject is continued here and directions for the Sādhana of Vibhūtiniś Kundalahārini Sindurini Apahārini, Mahānatī Cetī Kāmeśvarī and Kumārī are given. These beings are called in the chapter as Bhūtiniś.

Tenth Patala

9 Unmattabhairavī asks her consort to reveal to her the

Buddhist

mukhī and Sankhapālamukhī |
Then follows the enumeration of
the manifold Siddhis obtainable
therefrom

12 In the section which
comes next the six Kinnarīs rise
up and after paying homage to
Vajradhara reveal their Hidayā
Mantras. The six Kinnarīs are
mentioned as Manohīrīmī, Su-
bhagā, Viśālanetrī, Surātapriyā,
Sumukhī and Divākaramukhī.
Then follows the Sādhana, the
Mudrās and Mantras as usual.

13 Then follows a second
description of the Mandala with
less details, and practically in-
cluding the same gods and god-
desses mentioned in the fourth
chapter, with the directions for
entering the Mandala along with
a number of Mantras connected
with the rites.

14 In the subsequent section
details are given of rites for sub-
duing and conquering the eight
Bhūtas, namely, Aparājita, Ajita,
Purana, Apurana, Smāsānādhi-
pati, Kalasa, Bhūtesa and Kin-
narottama (Kinnarottama in
Hindu) and Sādhana, Mantras
and Mudrās connected with the

Hindu

Thirteenth Patala

12 The Siddhi of the Kin-
narīs is described with details
of Mudrās and Sādhana. Their
number is recognized here also
as six and their names are the
same as given in the Buddhist
version of the Bhūṭadāmarā
Tantra.

Fourteenth Patala

13 Describes again the Man-
dala of Bhūṭadāmarā for the
second time though with less
details than before. This chapter
describes also the method of
entering the Mandala and gives
description of several Mudrās
and enumerates a number of
Mantras and Mudrās connected
with the rites.

Fifteenth Patala

14 Unmattabhairava des-
cribes the methods by which
mastery over the Bhūtas may
be obtained, and for this purpose
reveals a number of Mantras,
Mudrās and gives elaborate de-
scription of the procedure to be
followed for the different kinds
of power. Here also their

as being pleased to answer the queries of his consort Unmattabhairavī

But no one can deny that there is a great deal that is common to both the versions of the Bhūṭadāmara Tantra, though the two belong to two widely different religious systems. But that is not sufficient to establish the relative priority of the two versions. The general impression of the reader who compares the two versions closely is that the Hindu version is later in which the earlier Buddhist version has been remodelled. There are also several reasons for considering the Hindu version to be an imitation of the earlier and the original Buddhist version of the Bhūṭadāmara Tantra. The Buddhist version puts the whole Tantra in the mouth of Vajradhara who is regarded as the highest deity in Buddhism, but in the Hindu version sometimes Vajradhara is also represented as giving out certain Mantras, though in the beginning of almost every chapter the work opens with a conversation between the Unmattabhairava and Unmattabhairavī. Moreover, it is quite natural with the Buddhist to consider the highest Hindu deities as Bhūṭas or super-natural or inferior beings ready to do service for the worshipper. But even in the Hindu version the same sentiments are expressed and Mantras and methods are given for the Mārana of Brahmā, and others who are considered as Bhūṭas. Again, it is natural with the Buddhists to make the highest Hindu gods as companions and inferior to the principal god Bhūṭadāmara because that shows clearly that the Buddhist gods are far more powerful than the impotent Hindu gods who are much inferior to them and are given definitely subordinate position in the Mandala of Bhūṭadāmara. But it is certainly strange in a Hindu Tantra to make the highest Hindu gods to be given definitely an inferior position in the Mandala.⁹ Moreover, the Hindu version of the Bhūṭadāmara Tantra mentions a large number of Buddhist terms in the body of the book and introduces some avowedly Buddhist characters in it. Thus we find Vajradhara frequently introduced and mentioned, Vajrapāṇi another Bodhisattva of the Buddhist pantheon introduced as giving certain instructions to the gods and particularly to Mahesvara. On fol 8

⁹ The Buddhists maintained a very hostile attitude towards the Hindu gods and goddesses in their rituals and in the sculptures, images and paintings. For details see B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 162

Buddhist

Hindu

Kapālamālāmukutam	trailokyasyāpi nāsanam
Attahāsam mahāsāntam (nādam)	trailokyādhīpatim prabhūm
Pratyāliḍha susamsthānam ādityakotisannibham	
Aparājitapadākrāntam mudrābandhena tisthati	
2 Tantra madhye nyased bhīmam taptajvālāsamākulam	
Sāttahāsam mahāraudram bhinnāñjanacayopamam	
Pratyāliḍham caturbāhūm daksine vajradhāraṇam	
Tarjanam vāmahastena tikṣṇam damstrākarāṇam	
Kapālaratnamukutam	trailokyasya vināsanam
Ādityakotisankāsam	astanā gavibhūṣitam
Aparājitamākṛāntam	mudrā bandhena tisthati

2 Jvālāmālākulam	dīptam yugāntāgnīsamaprabham
Bhinnāñjanamahākāyam	kapālakṛtabhūsanam
Sāttahāsamahāraudram	trisu lokabhayankaram
Tanmadhye to mahābhīmam	Vajrakrodham caturbhujam
Dakṣinorddhvakare	vajram tarjanavāmapāṇinam
Krodhamudrānvitam	[devam] pāṇibhyām dhāraṇam bhaje

It may be noticed from the different descriptions of the deity as given in the Buddhist and Hindu versions that the original language of the Buddhist has been changed in the Hindu version to a more dignified and correct form of Sanskrit, although the deity whom the two versions describe remains the same in all particulars.

The form of Bhūṭadāmara can now be clearly understood from the different Dhyaṇas quoted above. It appears from the description that Bhūṭadāmara is one faced and four armed and stands in the Pratyāliḍha attitude on Aparājita—the lord of the ghosts and demons. The two principal hands are crossed against the breast in what is called the Bhūṭadāmara Mudrā or the Krodha Mudrā which requires that the two Anāmukās should be entwined,

- (5) Ratnasrī (H Rambhā) in the Agni corner carrying the Gandha or scent and decked in all ornaments
- (6) Sarasvatī in the Nairrta corner of beautiful appearance and carrying the Vinā
- (7) Surasundarī in the Vāyu corner carrying a garland of jewels (Rātnamālā)
- (8) Viśālākṣī in the Īsāna corner of beautiful appearance, decked in all ornaments and resplendent with youthful bloom

In the third circle the deities presiding over the different quarters with their own weapons and symbols and Vāhanas are placed thus —

- (1) Agni in the Agni corner
- (2) Yama in the South
- (3) Nairrta in the Nairrta corner
- (4) Varuna in the West
- (5) Vāyu in the Vāyu corner
- (6) Kubera in the North
- (7) The Moon in the Īsāna corner
- (8) Indra in the East

In the fourth circle there is another set of deities which are omitted in the Hindu version on the first occasion, but appear in the second occasion at the end of the work. These eight deities are placed in the Mandala as under —

- (1) Simhadhvajā in the East
- (2) Vibhūti in the South
- (3) Padmāvatī behind (West)
- (4) Surahārini in the North
- (5) Varahārini in the Īsāna corner
- (6) Ratnesvarī in the Agni corner
- (7) Bhuṣinī in the Nairrta corner
- (8) Jagatpālīnī in the Vāyu corner

All these deities are beautiful in appearance, decked in all ornaments having their original complexion and weapons held in their hands, and resting in the Sattvaparyanka attitude

This elaborate Mandala is twice described in each of the two versions of the Bhūtadāmara Tantra. The Sāadhanamālā, however, is silent with regard to the companion deities because obviously

Oriya Section.

President

MR GOPAL CHANDRA PRAHARAJ,
Advocate, Patna High Court

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UTKAL OR ORDISSA

The Country and its Language

GOPAL CHANDRA PRAHARAJ

DEAR PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
GENTLEMEN, AND LADIES PRESENT,

At the start I beg, on behalf of the Oria people, to tender our gratefulness to the Committee of this Conference for having included 'Oría' in its scope

We Orías had not, till lately, taken up philological studies. The late Pandit Gopeenath Nanda of Ganjam in the Madras Presidency had begun the same by a series of articles in Oría Magazines which he compiled into a book, *The Oría Bhāsā tattva*. The late Syamsunder Rajguru, B A, of District Ganjam and the late Tarini Charan Rath had made some valuable contributions towards Oría Philology, but unfortunately their researches were cut short by their untimely death. Leaving aside these three Oría gentlemen we cannot boast of any methodical work having been done on a scientific basis regarding Oría language, literature, and history. Though the recording of contemporary events to form the basis of future history of the country was begun in the 11th century A D by Choraganga Deb, the first king of the Orissa Ganga Dynasty, by maintaining the 'Mādlā Pāñji' in the Jagannath Temple at Puri, though the cave inscriptions of King Aira and Khāravela (1st century B C) were the forerunners of archæological and historical records of the country, though the architectural inscriptions and carvings of the caves and temples in and around Bhuvanesvar and Konarak (District Puri), Khiching (in Mourbhānj State), Jaugarda (District Ganjam), and Jajpur (District Cuttack) and in various places within the boundaries of ancient Odra desa, and copperplates unearthed from various quarters prove beyond doubt that the Orías had a history, a civilisation, and traditions of which any nation on the face of the earth would be proud, still none of these have been brought to light or to the prominent notice of the civilised world by any Oría scholar. Many European and British scholars and some of our Bengali and Behari brethren have contributed valuable materials towards the compila-

The Orissa of the present map of India is not the Orissa of history. We have been using two names, viz —

- 1 *Orissa*, for the present administrative Orissa of the 19th century comprising the three coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack, and Balasore, the upland district of Sambalpur recently added to it in 1904, the non-regulation district of Angul, and the Orissa Feudatory States, and
- 2 *Utkal*, for the linguistic or historical Oria speaking tracts now lying within the borders of four different provinces of Bihar and Orissa, Bengal, Central Provinces, and Madras

The modern use of the word Utkal to denote the Oria-speaking tracts can be traced to the Utkal Union Conference started in 1903 by Mr M S Das, C I E, the grand old man of Orissa and perhaps the oldest Indian leader now living. Since then we have been calling the area Utkal and the people who are permanent residents of this area as Utkaliyas, as distinguished from Orias, i.e. people whose mother tongue is Oria.

The area of Utkal as defined above has been approximately though incorrectly laid down by Sir Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India*. It is bounded on the east by the Bay of Bengal. Taking the mouth of the Haldi River near Tamluk (ancient Tamralipta) in the Contai Subdivision of Midnapore District of Bengal as the north eastern point, the boundary line runs westwards along the rivers Haldi and Kaligai up to Bankura and then turns towards the south and runs along the eastern boundary of the Singhbhum District through Saraikala State up to the valley of Ranchi in Chotanagpur Division, then along Jaspur State, Raigarh, Sarangarh and Raipur districts in Central Provinces up to the Bastar State (C P) which may be taken as the south-western corner of this area. Then the line proceeds south east along the Joypur State and the districts and agencies of Vizagapatam and Ganjam (in Madras) whence it takes an easterly turn from Parlakemudi and meets the Bay of Bengal at Barua Bandar (Kalingapatam).

The area of the present administrative Orissa is roughly forty thousand square miles while that of the Utkal would be about fifty-five thousand square miles. According to a rough calculation based on Census figures the number of Oria speaking people inside Orissa

River (with Sompetta in Ganjam as its capital) and (3) The northern or Utkalinga, extending from Rṣikulyā to the Ganges (with Tośah—identified with Bhuvanesvar—as its capital) The name of Kahnga had been well known to Greek historians Ptolemy and Pliny and to the Buddhists and to the Chinese travellers Hsuan Tsang and Fa Hian In the *Harnamsa* we find the territory of Kahnga beginning from Tamralipta (Tamluk in Midnapore) King Asoka conquered Kalnga in the 8th year of his reign and caused some inscriptions in Jaugarda (Ganjam) and Dhanu (District Puri)

The Utkal was originally separate from the two other portions of Kalnga, but latterly it devoured up the two other Kahngas and came under the sway of the Gupta dynasty of Sirpur who styled themselves the lords of Trikalnga from 10th to 11th century A D This Utkal country was bounded on the north by the Ganges, on the east by the Bay of Bengal, on the south by the Godavari, and on the west by Central India Marhatta speaking country The Odras were inhabiting the western fringe of Utkal They were originally Aryans but got mixed up with the Dravidians of Kalnga and were branded as fallen Ksatriyas by Manu When again new colonies of Aryans settled in Kalnga these Odras were driven to the forests and mountains of Jeypur, Bastar, and Vizagapatam The Odras were a hardy and martial caste The Ganga Vamsa kings of Orissa engaged them as soldiers and got them settled in various parts of Orissa by granting them jagirs and their descendants are still styled as Orda Chasī, Orda Pūka, Orda Khandūta and Orda Swānsiās That this country Utkal or Ordissa and its people Utkahyas or Ordias, under one name or another name, have been long on the face of India admits of no doubt At times Utkal was amalgamated with Kalnga and its civilisation spread far and wide beyond the boundaries of India This Utkal comprised the Kongada (identified with Ganjam), Kosala (identified with Sambalpur), Gandamālā (Bama, Gangpur, and Bonai States), and the three coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack, and Balasore This Utkal extended from the Ganges to the Godavari and from the Bay of Bengal westwards towards C P and Gya The Utkal merchants who visited the Buddha brought his tooth relic to Orissa in the 5th or 6th century B C In Manu (3rd century B C) we find mention of Udras as fallen Ksatriyas The Buddhist King Aśoka conquered Kalnga and established a capital near Bhuvanesvar and got inscriptions carved in Orissa in 3rd century B C After Asoka,

- 2 Tadbhava—words corrupted from Sanscrit or Prakrit or Pali ,
- 3 Desaja—words of which the origin cannot be traced or remotely traced to Sanscrit or Prakrit or Dravidian ,
- 4 Foreign—words brought from Arabic, Persian, or any European language , and
- 5 Dialectical—words used in particular Oriya-speaking tracts but not common to the whole Orissa, and in which can be traced the influence of Bengalee, Hindi, Marhatti, and Telugu with which the Oris of these particular tracts have come in contact This class includes ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ (Grāmya) and vulgar words and words used by low caste people and untouchables

To one peculiarity of the Oriya language I would draw the attention of scholars The Oriya language preserves the distinct pronunciations of $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ \text{᳹} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ \text{᳹} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} d \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} rd \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} dh \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} rdh \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} s \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} s \\ \text{᳹} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} j \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} jy \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, though some sister languages do not do this The pronunciation of the vowels ᳵ (as ru) and ᳶ (as lu) are different from those of the Bengalee So when we find in any old writing the distinction clearly preserved between $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} n \\ \text{᳹} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$, $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ \text{ᳵ} \end{smallmatrix} \text{ and } \begin{smallmatrix} l \\ \text{᳹} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ we would have reason to presume the writing to be Oriya if there be other indications (use of palm leaf, the circular toppings of letters), internal and external, that the language is Oriya

From the language of some old inscriptions and copperplates and Mādā Pāñji we conclude that the present day Oriya has stuck to the old Oriya form more faithfully than many of the modern vernaculars

Now let us deal with the Oriya script The Oriya script has been adopted from the Magadhi script which was the descendant of Brahmi script through Kutala and Devnāgar scripts From stone inscriptions and copperplates scholars infer that by the 10th century A D Oriya script had developed into a peculiar one and had become distinct from its mother A comparison of Devnāgar with the present-day Oriya script, as well as with the Oriya script of the 13th and 14th centuries, convinces even a casual observer that except for the curves,

in the rise of the Sahajā Dharma which is Buddhism in the garb of Hinduism and which became the popular religion. This movement and religion must have their peculiar phraseology, rituals and text books which also remain to be unearthed. We have not yet been able to get any religious writing of that period.

The paucity of books written in Oriā language is due to the influence of the Brahmans who were brought from Kānyakubja by Jajātikesari and who settled in Orissa in the 5th century A D. These Brahman settlers did not like the civilisation and language of the original inhabitants of the province and called the language Prakrit. Then came the great Hindu religious reformer Sankara in the 8th century A D. He gave a blow to Prakrit by composing everything in easy Sanskrit so that people might understand and use it in preference to the Pālī the vernacular of the Buddhists. Buddhism, finding itself nonplussed by Sankara, gradually merged into Hinduism which took delight in expressing religious formulas and rites in mystic forms and songs.

The oldest Oriā can be traced in some copperplate inscriptions found in Patia (Cuttack District) and Bhuvanesvar (Puri District) and ascribed to Śubhākarakesari, a king of Orissa in the 7th century A D. It is in Brāhmī Kutilā script and the language is Oriā.

Then we come to some palm leaf and paper manuscripts discovered from Nepal by the President of our Association and published under the name of *Bauddha Gāna and Dohā*, to which I have referred above. They are ascribed to the 10th century A D. Pandit Binayak Misra has advanced some arguments and internal evidence to prove that some of the songs are Oriā. Before we can claim the fruits of the Māhāmahopādhyāya's labours to be ours we must devote much more research to the subject than we have done yet and unearth some materials from which we can independently establish that the language and script used in the Nepalese manuscripts are Oriā and not Bengalee. From a reference to the list of the authors of Buddhist Tantras appended to the book we find the names of six Oris who were either authors or translators. Attempts should be made to discover some of their writings before we can pronounce any opinion on the Bauddha Gānas and Dohās, though some of them appear to be composed by an Oriā Sādhaka—Kāhñupāda alias Kṛsnācārya Pāda. By these 'Dohās' one's attention is drawn to a similar class of songs under the name of '*Jogindra dānda Dhuā*' and '*Sarira*

Mahābhārat from memory, tinging it with imagination. His Mahābhārat is rich in Oriya words, phrases, manners, and customs. His Mahābhārat is read, recited, and worshipped in every village. After Sarala many writers have composed Purānas in their own way instead of faithfully translating the Sanscrit originals, so much so, that Pitambar Das has composed a big *Nrsingha Purāna* in seven volumes, of which there is no Sanscrit counterpart and which includes the Bhāgavat, the Rāmāyan, the Mahābhārat, and many other Purānas. The political condition of the country encouraged the Purāna-writings. Buddhism had been suppressed by Sankara, and Hinduism was coming to the forefront and was assuming a popular form. The people became eager to know something of the epics and the Purānas. It was not possible for them to read and understand the original Sanscrit works, and there was no facility for getting the books to be read. The Jagannath Temple was complete by the 12th century A.D. and was the centre of a religious revival by the amalgamation of Buddhism with Hinduism. To Lord Jagannath the people and the writers turned their faces, and so we find that the writings are religious and devoted to Lord Jagannath, where they do not relate to the great epics. We mark the style as popular. The kings of Kesarī and Ganga dynasties set up Brahman villages and made liberal grants to them, but they seem to have encouraged Sanscrit learning and Brahminical lore, instead of the vernacular or the tongue of the masses.

During this period we find many an Oriya scholar and expert, famous in many branches of Sanscrit lore throughout India, e.g. Rhetoric, Astronomy, Law, Lexicography, Logic and annotations of Vedānta Philosophy. Among poets who devoted themselves to the vernacular, we find two classes: (1) authors and composers of Chautisa headed by Markanda Das, and (2) composers of Purānas headed by Pitambar Das. These writings evolve a purely Oriya style which was termed as Prākṛita. Except a few, all the authors of Prakrit works were non-Brahmans. Towards the end of the rule of the kings of Ganga dynasty we find a vernacular literature full of allusions to Buddhist faith framed into the Vaiṣṇavite trellise. Jagannath Das, an Oriya Brahman, was engaged in popularising the Bhāgavat, and he translated the 12 Skandas into popular Oriya. When Śrī Chaitanya visited Orissa he found a popular form of Vaiṣṇavism prevailing in Orissa which, when analysed, was found to be a veiled form of Buddhism. To the devotees of this faith Chaitanya extended

Abhimanu followed Bhañja and gave a new turn to the language. He followed the composition and metres and rhetoric of Upendra but made the language comparatively easy and popular. Now a word about 'Chhanda' or metre in Oriya will not be out of place here. Though old and modern Sanskrit abounds in metres, still the development of *chhandas* in Oriya poetry is a peculiarity of its own. These metres are sung to the tune by experts and one composition can be sung in more than one metre. For instance, the metre Vāṅgala Sri can be sung in four different modes to suit different sentiments (Rasas)—the Vīra, the Karuṇā, the Raudra, and the Sānta Rasas. The Oriya poets of the class of Bhañja have filled our language with rhetorical and linguistic peculiarities of composition, alliterations, and linguistic ornaments which very few Aryan vernaculars of India can boast of. These songs were sung by the masses and till 50 years ago it was common to find ordinary people and even women who could recite pages and pages of Bhañja's poems and explain them very clearly. This shows that the standard of language was then higher than now. Then came the poets who composed *Alekha* and *Nirākāra* Bhajans which were revivals of Tantric and Buddhist garb of Vaiṣṇavism of the old days. Then we come to the age of songs. Bhañja has composed some love songs and *Chaupadis*, but it was reserved for poets headed by Kavisūrya Baladeva Ratha to develop the song and music literature of Orissa. The songs are mostly love songs and deal with the love stories of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The songsters flourished till the classical Oriya composition gave rise to the modern composition, influenced by modern English and Bengali literature. For some time when in the beginning of the 19th century Orissa came under the sway of the British, the Bengalees were dominant in the administration, and there came a time when it was doubted whether Oriya could maintain its place as a separate language and literature. However, by the middle of the 19th century Oriya had been acknowledged as a separate language. Some educated sons of Orissa translated Bengali and English for being used as text books in schools, and Oriya classics were utterly ignored for a time. Then we find that Bengali which was making rapid strides under writers headed by Iswar Chandra and Bankim, was held up as a model on which young writers wanted to build the structure of modern Oriya. Poet Radhanath, Ramsankar, Phakir-mohan, Madhusudan moulded Oriya poetry, whereas Gourisankar,

WESTERN INFLUENCE IN ORIYA LITERATURE

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The contact of the west with Orissa is not of recent date , her geographical position made her coast a vantage ground for trade seeking invaders , we need not dwell on any ancient or mediæval accounts of the contact between Orissa and the west, but may point, in modern times, to the Portuguese who, coming up from Madras along the coast, founded an establishment at Píph, which they utilised as a prosperous slave market, for residence, and also as a church (Our Lady of Rosary) The Portuguese had another settlement at Balasore where also they built a church These settlements flourished in the middle of the 17th century and from that period up to the 19th the political turmoils stirred the life of the times and that made it impossible for western culture to act upon the inhabitants of the province These settlers had perhaps then very little culture to give, busy as they must have been in stabilising their own position and recruited as they were mainly from a class of people not conspicuous for intellectual culture The result of these 150 years' stay and sway of the Portuguese is to be found, among other things, in the vocabulary of the Oriya language in which 34 words have been traced to a Portuguese origin by Mr J J A Campos in his account of the rise and decline of the Portuguese power in Bengal It was only in the first years of the 19th century that the English came into power in Orissa and so they could not, until towards the end of the century, when they were well-established, set in motion forces which turned the current of Orissan thought, and along with it Orissan literature, in a distinct channel,—to indicate which is the aim of this paper

It is interesting to observe that the British influence, once it had begun, was made to spread in a systematic way and with thoroughness This is true of all India A system of education by which the minds while in a plastic condition may feed on English literature, western philosophy, European history, and may receive practical lessons in democracy, into giving up all notions of caste, at least for the period of training in schools and colleges , the printing

western influence in Oriya, in the making of modern Oriya language and literature. Like many other Indian Vernaculars, more or less, modern Oriya prose has been largely due to western models and necessities of life and civil administration, and the different prose forms, the novel, the essay, the newspaper, etc. are directly or indirectly traceable to English influence. Such a work as *Bibāsinī* or *Māmu* was impossible in the past, before the days of British influence, not only with regard to the critical, satirical attitude towards life, but also in point of prose style. The whole world of prose—and it is not a small world either—is due directly or indirectly to similar works in English prose.

Let us now turn to verse forms. The major portion of Oriya verse is even to day quite classical or traditional in diction and style, but while this is true of the poetry of Radhanath Ray, one of the three pioneers in modern Oriya literature, how much has been the influence of the west on him in the matter of literary forms and in a new literary sense which, passing out from him, forms a rich contribution to modern Oriya literature. *Mahāyātrā*, incomplete in 9 cantos or *sargas*, is in blank verse, and though the preface written by a friend of the poet's asserts that there is nothing strange in the medium but that the Sanskrit poetry has many models to show the way to blank verse, we must put that down to the patriotic bias. The western influence in it has been acknowledged by Mr. Rao in that same preface. Again, the book is an epic, an epic fragment which, in tone and composition, is something new, not familiar to the language,—it is in perfect consonance with the influence of Milton and other westerners, filtrating through the writings of Michael Madhusudan Datta, to whom Radhanath had served an apprenticeship in literature. The address of homage which begins the book, the patriotic motive, the romance of history—all these new features are traceable to western influence. Again, the few fragments on the plan of the *Virāṅganā Kāvya* which are to be found in his writings, as ଶୁଭକ୍ଷିରକ ପ୍ରତି ବା ସ୍ତବ or ସଦା ପ୍ରତି ସଦାହରାଣା ସଦର ଭକ୍ତି, are also new forms animated by a new spirit. The reader of Radhanath's writings cannot help noticing that he was widely read in Scott and Byron, or their Bengali admirers who popularised their methods through Bengali literature. Madhusudan Rao, the literary comrade of Radhanath, in spite of his deep admiration for things of the land, had also been influenced by the west, e.g. in his sonnets and elegies,—

write in Oriya shows the part played by Bengali literature in the make up of Radhanath. The Oriya poet himself complained that the literature of his country had been too much under the shadow of the Bengali literature which was very much to be deplored. He complained that not to speak of the Bengali literature, but even the Hindi literature was marching ahead, while Oriya was in a static condition. The Bengali had been a help in bringing within the scope of the Oriya, a wealth of information, but at the sacrifice of his distinctiveness.

ବଙ୍ଗୀୟ ସାହିତ୍ୟର ତ କଥା ନାହିଁ ହିନ୍ଦି ସାହିତ୍ୟ ମଧ୍ୟ କ୍ଷେପର ଶିପ୍ରଗତରେ
ଅଗ୍ରସର ହେଉଅଛି ତାହାର ଭୁଲନାରେ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ସାହିତ୍ୟକୁ ଜଡ଼ବଦ୍ଧ ସ୍ଥାପନ
କରିଲେ ଅଭ୍ୟୁକ୍ତି ହେବ ନାହିଁ । ବଙ୍ଗସାହିତ୍ୟର ଚର୍ଚ୍ଚା ବାସ ଆତ୍ମମାନଙ୍କର
ଜ୍ଞାନର ପ୍ରସାର ହୋଇଅଛି ସତ୍ୟ, ମାତ୍ର ମୌଳିକତା ବହୁପରମ୍ପରାରେ ବନ୍ଧୁ ହୋଇଅଛି ।¹

Speaking of modern times, it is a common experience to come across specimens of Oriya literature composed under the influence of Bengali, and thus exhibiting traces of western influence in form and temper.

It is, however, apparent that there has been less, far less, of western influence in Oriya than in Bengali. It has been neither so deep nor so extensive. And there are reasons for it. Among others it may be suggested that the centre of distribution of the influence has been Calcutta, the seat of the university, the seat of the provincial government and the centre of commerce. Cultural confusion has been nowhere so great as in Bengal, as may be seen on reference to the Census figures for 1921, in Bengal 339 males per ten thousand of age 5 and up were literate in English, while the number of Bihar and Orissa was only 78. The force applied at the centre becomes attenuated a great deal as it passes on to the periphery, and the physical inaccessibility of Orissa has also helped in preserving her literature, as it has her architecture, intact, her indigenous culture uncontaminated, and who knows if that is not one of the reasons why there is no artistic renaissance in Orissa as there is in Bengal?

¹ Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Utkal Sahitya Samaj by Radhanath Ray

ANCIENT RHETORICAL COMPOSITION IN ORISSA

PANDIT BINAYAK MIŚRA

Among the ancient Indian vernaculars, Oriya possessed a unique position in the matter of rhetoric literary composition. Scholars are often inclined to say that the Oriya rhetoric style owes its origin to the great poet Upendrabhaṇja who flourished in the first part of the 18th century A.C. As regards the rhetoric composition, it is admitted on all hands that Upendrabhaṇja surpasses Magha, the renowned author of the Sanskrit *Sisupālavadha*. But the view held by the majority of the scholars that Upendrabhaṇja was the originator of the rhetoric style in Oriya composition, can hardly be unchallenged. In nature we observe that everything develops gradually and as such the Oriya literature may not be believed to have escaped the law of nature. In that case, it can be conjectured that the composition under discussion was earlier than Upendrabhaṇja's time. This assumption is corroborated by *Pūrnatama Candrodāya* written by Brindāvatī Dāsī who is undoubtedly known to be earlier in date than Upendrabhaṇja.

Brindāvatī Dāsī was a poetess and her work is replete with the Sringhalā Alankāra. It is, therefore, evident that the rhetoric style was so popular in the ancient literary society of Orissa that Brindāvatī Dāsī could not resist her temptation of following the style under discussion. Apparently she followed it in order to popularise her work and to acquire a poetic reputation. But the source of such style has not properly been investigated. According to the view of some scholars, the rhetoric composition, found in the Sanskrit work *Sisupālavadha*, exercised a great influence on the ancient Oriya literature. But none has taken note of the fact that long before the date of composition of the said Sanskrit work, the style in question was in vogue in the Sanskrit literary field of Orissa. In support of this, the ancient copperplate records discovered in Orissa may be taken into consideration.

In the text of the Hindol plate of Subhākara (*J B & O R S*, Vol. XVI, p. 77), we find the Virodhābhāsa alankāra, which conveys the double meaning, each opposite to the other (*Nihila jana pramoda vilasita kamalopyatīvrakarah*). In the text quoted

HINDI SECTION.

President

BABU SYAM SUNDAR DAS



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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BABU SYAM SUNDAR DAS

यद्यपि अनेक वर्षों से भारतीयों में अपने देश सबंधी प्राचीन शोधों की चचा चल रही है और उन्होंने उस क्षेत्र में गौरव का स्थान भी प्राप्त कर लिया है, फिर भी उनका ध्यान अपने देश में प्रचलित आधुनिक देश भाषाओं की ओर अब तक आकृष्ट नहीं हुआ था और प्रायः उपेक्षा के भाव से ही उनका आदर सत्कार होता रहा, पर अब समय के प्रवाह में पड़कर हममें जो अपनी सब वस्तुओं के लिये एक विशेष प्रकार के आदर-भाव की जागृति हुई है उसी के प्रभाव से प्रेरित होकर हमको अपनी भिन्न भिन्न देश-भाषाओं की ओर भी उचित ध्यान देना पड़ा है और हम उनके प्राचीन इतिहास की खोज करने तथा उसके तत्त्वों का विवेचन करने के लिये प्रयत्न ऊँच है। यह हमारे लिये कम आनंद और सतोष की बात नहीं है, यद्यपि कदाचित् यह कह देना भी अनुचित न होगा कि इस प्रयत्न को अभी अधिक पुष्ट और परिमार्जित करने की आवश्यकता है। जहाँ हम प्राचीन शोध की ओर आकृष्ट हुए हैं और उसमें हमने अच्छी सफलता प्राप्त की है वहाँ साथ ही हमारे तथा अन्य देशवासियों के भारतीय प्राचीन शोधों के परिणामों से हमारी देशभाषाएं प्रायः वंचित रही हैं और हम भ्रमवश अपने भारतीय साहित्य की अगुआई तथा श्रीरुद्धि न करके विदेशीय साध्यस द्वारा विदेशीय साहित्य का भांडार भरने में लगे हुए हैं। कुछ लोग कह सकते हैं कि महत्त्व की वस्तु तो शोध है, साध्यस का स्थान अत्यंत गौण है, पर इस कथन में तथ्य होते हुए भी यह केवल हेतुवाद ही पर अवलंबित है। संसार के सब काम हेतुवाद से नहीं, वरन् भावनाओं से ही प्रेरित होकर होते हैं और उन्हीं देश, साहित्य तथा भाषा का मान होता है जिनके सेवकों में परिमार्जित तथा उत्कृष्ट भावनाओं का वाङ्मय है और जो उससे प्रेरित होकर अपने कर्तव्यपथ पर अग्रसर होते रहते हैं। क्या यह आशा करना अनुचित होगा कि शीघ्र ही हमारी प्रयत्न में भी वांछित परिवर्तन होंगे और हम पहले क्षुधा से व्याकुल अपने उदरों की दृष्टि करके तब दूसरों के परिदृष्ट उदरों पर दृष्टि फेरेंगे। इन्हीं भावनाओं से प्रेरित होकर मैं अपना नम्र निवेदन अपनी भाषा में उपस्थित करने का साहस करता हूँ और ऐसा करने का अवसर देने के लिये आप सबके प्रति अपनी हार्दिक कृतज्ञता प्रकट करता हूँ।

ओरियंटल कानफरेंस का यह तीसरा अधिवेशन है जिसमें हिंदी का अलग विभाग स्थापित करके इसके सचालकों ने अपनी दूरदर्शिता, देशहितैषिता, मातृ भाषा-प्रेम तथा काल-ज्ञान का जो परिचय दिया है उसके लिये वे सब हमारे धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। इस अधिवेशन के हिंदी विभाग के सभापति का आसन देकर आप महाशयों ने जो मेरा आदर किया है और मुझे गौरव प्रदान किया है उसके लिये मैं आपका हृदय से कृतज्ञ हूँ तथा सादर आपका अभिवादन करता हूँ।

इस देश के मूल निवासियों की बोली थी या आर्यभाषा से निकली छद्म जनसमूह के बोलचाल की भाषा थी? विद्यामहोदय श्रीमान् काशीप्रसाद जायसवाल ने सतर्क बतलाया है कि नारद के समय में प्राकृत पंडिताजी भाषा हो गई थी और बोलचाल की भाषा न रह गई थी। बोलचाल की भाषा देशभाषा कहलाती थी और यही पुरानी हिंदी थी। जब इसका तारतम्य सातवीं सदी तक पाया जाता है तब इसकी खोज लगाना और यथोचित विवेचन करना आवश्यक ज्ञान पड़ता है।” इस अवसर पर मैं और ऊपर जो कुछ कहा गया है उससे स्पष्ट है कि हर्षचरित की भाषा और नारद-स्मृति की देशभाषा से तात्पर्य अपभ्रंश के अतिरिक्त दूसरी किसी भाषा से नहीं हो सकता। यह उस समय बोलचाल की भाषा रही होगी और पीछे से इसने साहित्यिक रूप धारण किया होगा। इस अवस्था में यह कह देना कि हिंदी का आदि कवि पुण्य या पुण्य नाम का था जिसने सवत् ७७० के लगभग अलंकार शास्त्र पर एक ग्रंथ दीर्घों में लिखा था सर्वथा अनुचित ज्ञान पड़ता है। अपभ्रंश का दूहा बूढ़ प्रसिद्ध है। शिवमिह्र मेहर ने अपने ‘सरोज’ में इसको ‘हिंदी की जड़’ कहा है। इससे यह अनुमान कर लेना कि वह हिंदी का आदि कवि था बड़े साहस की बात है। यदि ‘जड़’ शब्द को सार्थक करना ही अभिप्रेत हो तो उससे पुण्य या पुण्य अपभ्रंश का आदि कवि माना जाना कोई असंगत बात न होगी, क्योंकि आधुनिक हिंदी और उसकी उपभाषाओं की उत्पत्ति अपभ्रंश से ही हुई है। यहाँ तक बात रहती तो कोई चिंता नहीं थी। पर पुण्य के अनंतर खुसानराओ के रचयिता एक ब्रह्मभट्ट, भुवाल, नद, कुतुब अली, अकरम फैज आदि अनेक कवियों के नाम लिए जाते हैं जिनकी छति का एक भी नमूना कहीं नहीं मिलता। इस अवस्था में उनके अस्तित्व की मानकर तथा उन्हें हिंदी के आदि काल का कवि स्वीकार करके ऐतिहासिक तथ्य का विवेचन करना कहाँ तक संगत है यह मैं आप लोगों की विवेक-बुद्धि पर ही छोड़ता हूँ। इन कल्पित नामों की (क्योंकि उन्हें कल्पित के अतिरिक्त दूसरा विशेषण देना संगत नहीं जान पड़ता) छोड़कर मियबधुओं ने अपने ‘विनोद’ में कई ऐसे कवियों के नाम दिए हैं जिन्हें वे आदि काल के मानते हैं। इनमें से मैं केवल दो तीन नामों को आपके सम्मुख उपस्थित करके यह दिखलाना चाहता हूँ कि वे वास्तव में आदि काल के नहीं वरन् बहुत पीछे के हैं।

इनमें से एक तो भगवद्गीता का अनुवाद है जो १००० सवत् का माना गया है। पर वास्तव में यह १७०० सवत् का है जैसा कि स्पष्ट प्रमाणित हो चुका है। दूसरा ग्रंथ ‘पतली’ है जिसके विषय में मियबधुओं का कहना है कि यह ग्रंथ सवत् १२४७ में बना। पर यह स्पष्ट प्रमाणित हो गया है कि इस ग्रंथ का निर्माण-काल सवत् १८०० है। यह सब कहने का तात्पर्य इतना ही है कि हिंदीसाहित्य का आदि काल सवत् १०५० के पूर्व ले जाने के लिये अभी तक कोई ऐतिहासिक प्रमाण प्राप्त नहीं हुआ है, वरन् जो कुछ प्रमाण मिलने है उनसे यही सिद्धान्त निकलता है कि इसका आरंभ विक्रम की ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी के आरंभ में हुआ होगा। यह काल उत्तर-पश्चिम से मुसलमानों के आक्रमणों के आरंभ का था। इस समय से लेकर हमीरदेव के समय तक मुसलमानों के आक्रमण निरंतर होते रहे। पहले तो वे लूट-मार करके अपने देश को लूट जाते थे, पर पीछे से उनके

देस देस विप्यरिय मेल गुन पार न पावय ।

उद्दिम करि मेलवत चासविन चालय आवय ॥

चिचकोट रान अमरेस नृप हित त्रीनुप आवस दयौ ।

गुन विन बीन करुणा उदधि लिपि रासौ उद्दिम कियौ ॥

दूहा—लघु दौरघ ओढौ अधिक जो कहु अतर होय ।

सो कवियन नुप सुद्ध ते कहौ आप बुधि सोय ॥”

पहले हमें दूसरे बंद पर विचार करना है। इसमें स्पष्ट लिखा है कि गुण रूपी मणियों को रस में पिरोकर चंद ने इसे कवियों के हाथ में दिया, पर बंद रस्ती से टूट गये और मद कवियों ने उन्हें अलग अलग कर दिया। वे देश देश में बिखर गए और उनका मेल नहीं बैठता था। चिचकोट (चिचौड) के राणा अमरेस नृपति की आज्ञा से उत्थम कर इन बिखरे हुए बंदों को मिलाकर इस रासौ को पूर्ण करने का उद्योग किया गया। इसका सारांश यही है कि चंद कवि का प्रथ्वीराजरासो मद कवियों के हाथ में पड़कर बिन्न-भिन्न हो गया था और उसके बंद बिखर गए थे। महाराणा अमरसिंह की आज्ञा से इन बंदों का संग्रह किया गया और रासौ को नवीन रूप दिया गया। अमरसिंह नाम के दो महाराणा चिचकूट (चिचौड) की गद्दी पर बैठे। पहले अमरसिंह खनामधन्य महाराणा प्रतापसिंह के पुत्र थे। इनका जन्म सवत् १६१६ में, राज्य प्राप्ति सवत् १६५२ में और स्वर्गारोहण सवत् १६७६ में हुआ। दूसरे महाराणा अमरसिंह का जन्म १७२८, राज्य प्राप्ति सवत् १७५५ और स्वर्गारोहण सवत् १७६७ में हुआ। इस बात का प्रमाण मिलता है कि दूसरे महाराणा अमरसिंह के पहले प्रथ्वीराजरासो की प्रसिद्धि हो चुकी थी। अतएव यदि रासौ का सकलन पहले पहल किसी महाराणा अमरसिंह के समय में हुआ होगा तो वह पहले ही अमरसिंह हो सकते हैं, दूसरे नहीं। महामहोपाध्याय पंडित गौरीशंकर हीराचंद ओझा अपने ‘राजपूताना का इतिहास’ में इस प्रथम अमरसिंह के विषय में लिखते हैं—“वह वीर होने के अतिरिक्त नीतिज्ञ, दयालु, अपने सज्जनों से अपने सरदारों की प्रीति संपादन करनेवाला, न्यायी, सुकवि और विद्वानों का आश्रयदाता था।” इन आधारों से हम इस निर्णय पर पहुँचते हैं कि यह काम सवत् १६२६ और १६७६ के बीच में हुआ होगा। काशी नागरीप्रचारिणी सभा के पुस्तकालय में सवत् १६४२ की लिखी हुई एक प्रति प्रथ्वीराजरासो की है। अतएव हमको इस तथ्य पर पहुँचना पड़ता है कि यह सकलन कार्य सवत् १६२६ और १६४२ के बीच में हुआ होगा।

अब पहले बंद की लीजिए। इसका पाठ तथा अर्थ वज्रत सदिग्ध है। तीसरी पंक्ति में “इहि तिथि सख्या गुनित” लिखा है जिससे यह भाव निकलता है कि पहली दो पंक्तियों में इस सकलन का सवत् तिथि आदि दी होगी। पर उसका अर्थ स्पष्ट नहीं है। यदि हम पकज से पकज नाल (१), गुन को गुन (६) का अशुद्ध रूप, उदधि से समुद्र (४) और करद से कटार या चाकू (१) जिसका एक फल होता है, मान ले तो सवत् १६४१ बनता है। शेष शब्दों में मास तिथि आदि होगी। पर वह स्पष्ट

मलिक मुहम्मद जायसी ने अपने पदमावत काव्य के अंत में लिखा है—

“विक्रम भंसा प्रेम के वारा ।
 सपनावति कह गए पतारा ॥
 मधूपाठ सुगुधावति लागी ।
 गगनपूर होइगा वैरागी ॥
 राजकुंवर कचनपुर गए ।
 मिरगावति कहं जोगी भए ॥
 साधा कुंवर मनोहर जोगू ।
 मधुमालति कहं कौन्ह वियोगू ॥
 प्रेमावती कहं सुरसरि साधा ।
 जपा लागि अनिरुध वर वांछा ॥”

इससे प्रगट होता है कि जायसी के पूर्व सपनावती, सुगुधावती, मृगावती, मधुमालती और प्रेमावती नाम की चार प्रेम कहानियाँ प्रसिद्ध थीं। इनमें से मृगावती की एक खंडित प्रति भारतदु हरिश्चन्द्र के पुस्तकालय में वर्तमान थी और मधुमालती की एक खंडित और अशुद्ध प्रति नागरीप्रचारिणी सभा के पुस्तकालय में वर्तमान है। जायसी के पीछे भी इन प्रेम कहानियों की परंपरा चलती रही, क्योंकि चित्रावली और इन्द्रावती नाम की पुस्तके प्राप्त हो चुकी हैं। प्रयाग की हिंदुस्तानी अकाडेमी के पुस्तकालय में युसुफ जुलेखा नाम की प्रेमकहानी की एक हस्तलिखित प्रति रक्षित है। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि इन सूफी कवियों का एक अलग संप्रदाय हिंदी साहित्य के मध्य युग में आरंभ हुआ और बहुत दिनों तक चला। इन कहानियों के कलेवर में इन सूफी कवियों ने ससनवी के ढग पर अवधी भाषा के दोहे चौपाइ ढदों में परमात्मा और आत्मा के घनिष्ठ संबंध का तथा आत्मा को परमात्मा के लिये उत्कटित होकर उसी की सत्ता और महत्ता को समस्त प्रकृति और सृष्टि में देखने का बड़े चिन्ताकर्षक ढग से प्रतिपादन किया है। इस संप्रदाय के जो कुछ ग्रंथ अब तक मिले हैं उनके विवेचन से यह पता लगता है कि किस प्रकार भारतीय सिद्धान्तों और विचारों का इन कवियों पर प्रभाव पड़ा है और कैसे उनमें क्रमशः परिवर्तन हुआ है। पर इस लड़ी की आदि की तथा बीच की कड़ियों के न मिलने से पूरा पूरा इतिवृत्त उपस्थित नहीं किया जा सकता।

श्रीराजरासो तथा सूफी कवियों के संबंध में कुछ धाते कहने का मेरा उद्देश्य यही था कि आप लोगों का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित किया जाय कि हिंदी साहित्य के संबंध में बहुत जाँच पड़ताल और खोज खबर की आवश्यकता है। जब तक यह काम सुव्यवस्थित तथा सुघटित ढग से विशेषज्ञों द्वारा नहीं किया जायगा तब तक हम अपनी इस अशून्य संपत्ति की रक्षा और उपभोग नहीं कर सकेंगे।

यह सच है कि काशी नागरीप्रचारिणी सभा गत २० वर्षों से हस्तलिखित हिंदी पुस्तकों की खोज का काम कर रही है और इस संबंध में उसके कई विवरण प्रकाशित भी हो चुके हैं। इसमें भी संदेह नहीं कि जो कुछ काम अब तक हुआ है वह बहुत

पश्चिमी हिंदी के अतर्गत मानना उचित हो सकता हो तो हो, पर दोनों में आकारातल और आकारातल का विभेद भी कम महत्त्व का नहीं है। खड़ीबोली के ब्रजभाषा से उत्पन्न होने का भ्रम मौलाना मुहम्मद उसेन आजाद ने फैलाया है। उन्होंने अपने 'आवेदयता' के 'जवान उर्दू की तारीफ' शीर्षक में लिखा था—“इतनी बात हर शख्स जानता है कि हमारी उर्दू जवान ब्रजभाषा से निकली है और ब्रजभाषा खास हिंदुस्तानी जवान है लेकिन वह ऐसी जवान नहीं कि दुनिया के परदे पर हिंदुस्तानी के साथ आई हो इसकी उमर आठ सौ बरस के ज्यादा नहीं है और ब्रज का सजाजार इसका बतन है।” इस कथन में पहली भूल तो यह है कि उर्दू को उत्पत्ति ब्रजभाषा से नहीं किंतु खड़ीबोली से हुई है। खड़ीबोली उर्दू से बहुत पुरानी है। उर्दू की उत्पत्ति के बहुत पहले से इसका पता चलता है। उर्दू के क्रियापद और कारक चिह्न तथा सर्वनाम आदि सब खड़ीबोली के हैं। सारांश यह कि उर्दू का समस्त ढाँचा खड़ीबोली का है। उस पर खड़ीबोली के व्याकरण का पूर्ण शासन रहा है। हाँ, आधुनिक प्रवृत्ति अवश्य यह हो रही है कि उर्दू में फारसी व्याकरण का अनुसरण यथासाध्य अधिकाधिक हो और साथ ही जहाँ तक संभव हो फारसी अरबी के शब्दों का वाञ्छन्य हो। यह प्रवृत्ति आज की है, पुरानी उर्दू में यह बात नहीं थी। इस अवस्था में यह मानना कि उर्दू ब्रजभाषा से निकली है सर्वथा अप्रामाणिक है। इसकी उत्पत्ति खड़ीबोली से हो हुई है। अतः मौलाना आजाद की उर्दू वह खड़ीबोली भी नहीं हो सकती जिसकी उत्पत्ति ब्रजभाषा से संभावित हो।

मौलाना आजाद के इस कथन के कारण जो भ्रम फैला वह अभी तक दूर नहीं हुआ। श्री रामदास सकसेना अपने उर्दू साहित्य के इतिहास में लिखते हैं—

‘Urdu by origin is a dialect of western Hindi spoken for centuries in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Meerut and is directly descended from Saurseem Prakrit This living language has formed the basis of Urdu, the name being given at a later period’ आगे चलकर वे पुनः लिखते हैं ‘Modern high Hindi was developed from Urdu by the ejection of Persian words and substitution of those of Sanskrit origin

Hindi and Urdu are of the same parentage and in their nature they are not different from one another’ सबसे आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि सर जार्ज ग्रियर्सन ने भी इस मत को ग्रहण किया है। वे अपनी लिखी हुई सर्वे की रिपोर्ट में लिखते हैं—‘This Hindi (i.e. Sanskritised or at least non Persianised form of Hindustani), therefore, or as it is sometime called High Hindi, is the prose literary language of those Hindus who do not employ Urdu It is of modern origin, having been introduced under English influences at the commencement of the last century Lallulal under the inspiration of Dr Gilchrist changed all this by writing the well known Prem Sāgar, a work which

एक भी ग्रथ कही नहीं है। प्रमसागर ब्रजवासीलाल के ब्रजविलास का, जो ब्रजभाषा में लिखा हुआ है, ऋणो है। कहने का तात्पर्य इतना ही है कि उर्दू की उत्पत्ति खड़ीबोली से हुई और हिंदी अपनी श्रद्धा और अग्रगण्य के लिये उर्दू की ऋणी नहीं है। इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि हिंदी गद्य के विकास और प्रसार के लिए हम उर्दू के अग्रत ऋणी हैं, पर विशेष ऋणी हैं ब्रिटिश शासन काल में सर्वतोमुखी जागृति के, जिसने इसके विकास, प्रसार और प्रचार में परोक्ष तथा प्रत्यक्ष रूपों में उत्तेजना दी है। अतः, खड़ीबोली की उत्पत्ति का विषय ऐसा है जिस पर भाषातत्त्वज्ञों का ध्यान आकर्षित होना चाहिए और जिसके वास्तविक इतिहास को जानने के लिए उन्हें प्रयत्न करना चाहिए।

हिंदोभाषा से संबंध रखनेवाला दूसरा विषय, जिस पर अभी विशेष अनुसंधान और विवेचन की आवश्यकता है, कारक चिह्नों की उत्पत्ति का है। अनेक विद्वानों ने इस संबंध में स्वतंत्र विचार किया है, पर अभी तक कोई सर्वसम्मत मत निर्धारित नहीं हुआ है। विद्वानों को इस ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

तीसरा विषय जिस पर अभी बहुत कम विचार हुआ है हिंदी की संयुक्त क्रियाओं का है। वैयाकरणों ने इन्हें तीन मुख्य भागों में विभक्त किया है—(१) पहले भाग में वे संयुक्त क्रियाएँ रखी गई हैं जिनमें से पूर्व-प्रयुक्त अग्र मुख्य भाव को प्रदर्शित करता और अनु प्रयुक्त अग्र उसी भाव को किसी प्रकार से घटाता या बढ़ाता है, जैसे मिटा देना, मान लेना, जल उठना इत्यादि। इस श्रेणी की संयुक्त क्रियाओं में अनु प्रयुक्त क्रियाएँ प्रायः देना, लेना, जाना, डालना, पढ़ना, उठना, बैठना, रखना, आना, निकलना, रहना आदि हैं। विचारणीय विषय यह है कि क्या अनु प्रयुक्त क्रियाएँ केवल पहली क्रिया का उत्कर्ष या अपकर्ष ही प्रदर्शित करनेवाली होती हैं अथवा वे किसी और अर्थ को भी परोक्ष रूप से प्रदर्शित करती हैं, जैसे लौटा देना और लौटा लेना में। (२) दूसरी श्रेणी के अंतर्गत वे संयुक्त क्रियाएँ ली गई हैं जिनमें दोनों अपने अपने अर्थ की रक्षा किसी न किसी अर्थ में करती रहती हैं। इनकी विशेषता यह है कि पूर्व-प्रयुक्त क्रिया अपनी भाव-प्रधान अवस्था के विकारी या अविकारी रूप में रहती है और अनु प्रयुक्त के ही रूप चलते हैं। ऐसी क्रियाएँ विशेषकर सहायक क्रियाओं का काम करती हैं। इस प्रकार की क्रियाएँ, सकना, चुकना, लगना, देना, पाना, करना, रहना, जाना, चाहना आदि हैं। (३) तीसरी श्रेणी उन क्रियाओं की है जिनका पहला अग्र सज्ञावाचक अथवा कभी कभी विशेषणवाचक होता है और दूसरा करना, देना, लेना, होना, खाना, मारना होता है। इनमें से अधिकांश प्रयोग 'करना' का ही होता है।

अध्यापक वर्नीकाफ अपने एक लेख में इन संयुक्त क्रियाओं का उल्लेख करते हुए लिखते हैं—'The sentence in any of the modern Indian languages is no longer bound by the abstractedness of nominal constructions, it becomes more vivid and concrete. In this respect the Hindi language is specially interesting, as it differs from all the other Indo Aryan tongues in the originality of its verbal groups. The attention

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA IN HINDI TRANSLATIONS

(A resume)

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Lecturer, Government College, Lahore

1 The popularity of the Epic The Mahābhārata used profusely as a source book for various Hindi compositions

2 The printed translations of the Epic Important works being those of Sabal Singh Chauhan and Gopi Nath

3 The first translators in Hindi of this great Epic in the middle ages, viz 1700-1800 Vikrama

4 Hindi translations of the Epic in manuscripts not yet printed and scattered over Northern India Important works being those of Naval Singh, Lakhan Sena, Kulpati, Mansaram Pandey, and Lala Kavi Discussion with regard to the merit of their translations

5 The 'Central' and 'Northern' recensions of the translations in Hindi This division is based on the extant manuscripts and printed editions of the Epic

6 The Vir Vinod of Padma Singh—translation of 'Karna parva' Its peculiarities

7 The two manuscripts hitherto unpublished which were secured by me are —'The Vir Vilās' and 'The Nīti Vinoda' Description of the manuscripts

8 'The Vir Vilās' Translation of Drona parva Author Datta Kavi, his age, poetic talents, style and language Comparison of his poem with the Sanskrit original

9 Peculiarities of his translation how far does he follow the original? Its merits and demerits

10 The Nīti Vinoda by Trilochan—translation of Sānti parva Comparison with Datta, Trilochan being the grandson of Datta

11 Modern Hindi Translations in Prose Their value and importance

Urdu Section.

President

MR S KHUDA BUKHSH

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Urdu Section.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

S KHUDA BUKHSH

The beginnings of Urdu as a literary language are wrapped, like most beginnings, in mist and obscurity. Legends grow and popular imagination adds to them decade by decade. Tradition assigns its rise to the time of Timur's invasion (1398), but some claim a still higher antiquity for it, maintaining that Mas'ud, son of Sa'd, wrote *Rekhta* in Urdu in the first half of the XIth century and that in the XIIIth century Amir Khusrau composed poems in that language. But putting these extravagant claims aside, it is clear that during the early centuries of Muslim rule, Muslims did use the language and metrical forms of this country in their compositions. And thus Persian was gradually interwoven in the popular speech. In the writings of Chaudhary and Kabir, which admittedly are in Hindi, Persian words constantly occur. And this process of adoption and incorporation continues uninterrupted, and, indeed, in larger and larger measure. The vernacular speech is thus enriched by Persian words and phrases. What gave a tremendous impetus to this mutual interchange of words and thought was Akbar's catholicity of mind, which, soaring above the trammels of religion, sought and received light and wisdom from all quarters. The translation of Sanskrit works into Persian brought the indigenous and foreign literatures into closer and closer contact. Manifestly this influence was signally predominant over the language of the Capital, the Hindi spoken about Delhi and thence northwards to the Himalayas. The steady expansion of the Moghul empire, and its extension under Akbar and his successors in the South, made the idiom of the Capital the idiom of the Musalman kingdoms of the Deccan—nay, their court language.

But, singularly enough, the first impulse to literary composition in Urdu is given not by Delhi, but by the Muslim Courts of Golkonda and Bijapur. The newly-risen literature, it is to be noted however, is neither the literature of the people nor a revealer of their ideas, for the people at Golkonda spoke Telugu, and at Bijapur Kanarese—

largely on his Persian scholarship,¹ he was yet a poet of supreme power and singular endowment. Mir, the compeer of Sauda, was a pupil of this writer of prodigious literary fecundity and versatility. Arzu retired to Lucknow after the devastation of Delhi by Nadir Shah (1739), where he died. Mention must here be made of Yaqin, who, beloved of the gods, died young in the reign of Ahmad Shah (1748-1754), and of Khirjah Mir Dard of immortal memory, poet and mystic, sweet singer of sweetest songs, combining infinite pathos with infinite yearning, bright hopes with intense melancholy, deep religious piety with broad catholicity of mind. We shall revert to him later when we speak of the Patna School of poetry.

Like Khan Arzu, Sauda and Mir betook themselves too to Lucknow and enjoyed the favours of Asaf-ud-Dawlah. Mir—the very name suggests a variety of things—purity of diction, sublimity of thought, sweet melancholy, fitful gleams of sunshine, overcast by fast sailing clouds, muffled sobs, suppressed sighs—the tearful eye of humanity. And while such is the soft sweet strain of Mir, Sauda ushers us into a wholly different plane of poetry. Ideas follow ideas in tumultuous riot; words pierce, strike, smite, will, force, energy rule and dominate, a deep swell breaks on and lashes the shore. One represents sweetness and light, the other strength and energy. Who can forget the glowing tribute of Ghalib

عالمِ انا عقدہ ہے بقولِ ناسخ
آپ نے بہرہ ہے جو معتقدِ صبرِ نہیں

—Or the well-weighed judgment of Syed Ahmad Khan: 'Mir's language is so pure, and the expressions which he employs so suitable and natural that to this day all are unanimous in his praise. Although the language of Sauda is also excellent, and he is superior to Mir in the point of his allusions, he is nevertheless inferior to him in style.'

But though the political storm sweeping over Delhi seriously impaired her lustre, her poetic flame was not wholly quenched. Several princes among the later Moghuls were poets of no mean talents. Writing under the pen name of *Aftab*, Shah Alam II (1761-1806) composed a *Divan* and a *Masnawi* entitled *Manzum i Aqdas*. His son Sulaiman Shah followed in his wake, leaving a *Divan* behind. And last but not least, in Bahadur Shah the last of the Moghul

¹ I have a beautiful MS. of his *Tazkirah* copied in his life time.

Under the munificent Nawab Kalb Ali Khan there gathered a cluster of literary and poetic constellation of extraordinary brilliance. There the two schools, the school of Delhi and that of Lucknow, met to consider, to adjust, to revise their poetical standard. The artificiality and extravagance of Nasikh were ruled out, the archaism and verbal inaccuracies, characteristic of the Delhi school, were done away with. Naturalness, simplicity, fidelity to life became its cardinal tenet, its guiding principle. Dagh stood out as the exponent of this new scheme of things, born of the fusion of the two earlier schools. And he received a wider and wider audience, a larger and larger vogue.

Hitherto we have occupied ourselves with the Deccan, Delhi, Lucknow, and Rampur. Let us now look nearer home. What is the contribution of this beloved city of ours—of Patna—to life and letters? Few cities of the East can look back to the past with such pride as she can. Great under the Hindu and equally so under the Muslim rule, she, despite varying fortune, has always retained a hegemonic position, commanding challenging greatness. Time will more and more reveal her importance as the years roll by and excavations bring her buried glory and greatness to light and publicity. In the reign of Aurangzeb, Patna supplied a private tutor to the Delhi princes. And this was none other than Mirza Bedil, distinguished alike as poet and scholar. It then seemed as if Patna was shorn of her literary crown.

But soon a new star shone on her horizon. Mirza Muiz Khan, *Fitrat*, came and settled down in our town. While Bedil and Fitrat shed poetic lustre, the mosque of Saif Khan, by the silvery Ganges, diffused learning and nursed talents within her historic walls.² The city of Patna, thus favouring learning and fostering culture, became the adopted home of Delhi princes, poets, and savants. Among others she captured the heart of the prince Azimush Shan who named this city after him as Azimabad. He was not the first, nor yet the last, of the Moghul princes who felt and yielded to the spell of this mighty city. Here was Farrukh Siyar crowned Emperor with the help of the then Subadar of Patna, Nawab Husam Ali Khan, a

² Rightly does Shad say —

یا مسعد سب جان را نظر کن
مصفا تر از سیئه ناکباری

flocked to him. Among those that came, Nawab Ashraf Ali, *Fughan*, foster brother of Ahmed Shah, heads the list. Bearer of a great literary tradition, master of a faultless style, he gave a new direction to Urdu at Patna. Under his influence it became purer, chaster, more effective and less cumbrous. Desna, near Bihar, owns a beautiful MS. of his *Duan*. Rājah Shūrah Ray's son, Rājah Bahadur, writing under the pen name of 'Rājah', inherited at once his father's talents and generosity. Thus indeed, Patna's literary fame spread far and wide, attracting to it men of the intellectual calibre of Mir Sher Ali Afsos and Mir Amman, founders of Urdu Prose. In recalling her literary past, we cannot, however brief we may be inclined to be, pass over in silence names that are our abiding possession. Who can for instance forget Asad Jung (his full name was Syed Hedayet Ali Khan), whose house at *Barī Hauarī* at Hajiganj still bears witness to his taste and whispers faint echoes of vanished days? His *Dohas*, *Chait*, *Sauan*, and *Thumris*, flew from lip to lip and won the warm and discriminating applause of all. His *Ghazals* too acquired wide currency and his position as a master was unanimously accepted within and without Patna. Mir Hasan in his *Tazkirah*, approvingly quotes the following couplet of his³ —

ہرگز نہ مرے عشق کا سر اس پہونا
کرنا نہ اگر آئے مرا بردہ دري رنگ

--Or his distinguished son, Nawab Gholam Husam Khan, author of the *Siyar ul-Mutaalihin*, distinguished alike as poet, historian, man of letters, or again Nawab Ali Ibrahim Khan, author of the well-known *Tazkirah*, *Gulzar* i Ibrahim, and of two others of solid learning and extensive research, or yet again Rājah Pearl Lall, Ulfat, poet and patron of letters. We can indefinitely add to this list, but before leaving this subject I shall refer to Shah Ulfat Husam, Faryad, and Shawq Nimwi. Faryad, like Shawq, was a notable poet of later days. His uncle was a disciple of Dard, and as such was steeped through and through in the mysticism of the school of that illustrious poet. Faryad came under the influence

³ A talented lady friend of mine has drawn my attention to a couplet of a living Bihar poet, which far outshines, to my mind, even this little gem

چپا کے بالوں کودل میں رکھا کہ لب تک آئیں نہ رنگ ہو کر
مگر نہ جانا کہ رازِ الفت کلمے گا چہرے کا رنگ ہو کر

and passion, it pleaded for effort and seriousness in life it recalled ideals wantonly, criminally forgotten, it did more—it was the first frank and outspoken tribute to the dignity of man, so rarely remembered now in our country —

اپنی خود کرتے تھے عرب گر نہ کرتا تھا کوئی
سر ہراک موعوں کے آگے نہ بہڑاتے تھے ہم

His own ideal of poetry he has illustrated in his poems, 'simplicity, avoidance of exaggeration and unreality, direct and emotional appeal to the heart, and above all sincerity' In speaking of the literature of patriotism we cannot lose sight of Nazir Ahmad of Delhi. A prose writer of rare excellence, he will float down to posterity not only as a brilliant *litterateur* but as a patriot with a burning love for his country. He keenly felt and frankly expressed the farce of things around him. In a strain of light humour sage counsels and wise admonitions are conveyed—would that his countrymen would take them and act upon them!

حدا شاعر ہے میرے دل میں گر کعبہ بھی شراب ہو
مگر دیکھا نہیں جانا کہ انہی قدم عارت ہو

Such is the beginning of one of his poems where, in a heap of wit, humour, and gentle irony, exhortation, criticism, guidance, all are happily, tactfully woven into a chaplet of abounding grace and beauty. Last but not least, here in this domain Iqbal to day towers in splendid isolation. His poetry is the poetry of Patriotism. Every where flashes forth fiery, ardent, patriotic love. It sets us tingling, it bids us say with Tennyson 'But something ere the end. Some work of noble note may yet be done' Listen —

رلاتا ہے ترا نظارہ اے ہمدوستان محبکو
کہ عورت حیر ہے ترا فساد سب مسابوں میں
بشاں برگ گل تک بھی نہ چھوڑ اس باغ میں گلچیں
تیری قسمت سے رزم آرائیاں ہیں باغابوں میں
وطن کی فکر کر نادان مصیبت آے والی ہے
تیری برادریوں کے مشورے ہیں اسمابوں میں
درا دیکھ اس کو جو کچھ عورہا ہے ہوٹ والا ہے
دھرا کیا ہے بھلا عہد کہیں کی داسابوں میں

this spirit foreshadows itself not merely in serious prose and poetry, but also in those of a lighter strain. Witness the Urdu poetry of the Great War-period. Then the enchained spirit is stripped of its fetters. It gives free expression to its innermost thoughts—thoughts which forty years ago would have been perilous to utter and more perilous still to circulate.

Urdu literature may be conveniently divided into two groups—original and translations. Under the first group fall poetry, prose, fiction, and drama, and under the second, translations from other languages—Eastern and Western. Its poetry, like all poetry, covers an extensive field—heroic poetry, descriptive poetry, love poetry, devotional poetry, elegies, eulogies, satires. Its prose is equally rich and resourceful, and is marked by wealth of imagination and felicity of expression. It lifts the veil and reveals a true picture of things as they are. There a vivid, moving, thrilling panorama of social life and current interests unfolds itself before us. More trustworthy than inspired history, less guarded than official despatches, it records and registers the inner life and the half-uttered aspirations of India. To it, indeed, will the historian of the future direct his attention when in search of truth and reality. Who can read the writings of Syed Ahmed Khan, or of Hali, or of Nazim Ahmad, and of other contemporary exponents of Indian thought without noticing the divine purpose pursuing its divine end, or realizing that an indissoluble link binds the present with the past, or detecting the momentous issues of to-day in their embryo *then*?

The germs of the present are there—only time has shaped and matured them.

A great inheritance is ours. We shall but indifferently discharge our trust if we do not hand this inheritance down richer than before. Maulana Sulaiman Nadwi has drawn up a heavy indictment against us, and to all appearance it is an unanswerable one. With the exception, says he, of the life and writings of Makhdum ul Mulk Bihari, we have suffered the rest to pass into neglect and oblivion. And in support of this indictment he argues that the life of Shaikh Barhi, an eminent physician of Bihar, is disposed of in a few lines. A distinguished family of traditionists would have passed out of thought, out of mind, but for the merest accident that a document, bearing the signatures of some of its members, finds a place in the archives of Phulwari. Again, not the slightest information is

presiding Deity Yes ! a Temple of Learning reared by the united hand of all , for is not our literature the joint creation of us both Hindus and Muhammadans ? There will the powers of creation and assimilation, distinctive in our literature, receive ampler and ampler scope there will the common pursuit bring us closer and closer together there will the common *language effect* a truer and truer unity and from there, that Pantheon of Sweetness and Light, will a new gospel of humanity transcending all barriers, unite us all in one fond embrace

قدیم اردو افسانوں کا آغاز اور ارتقا اور جدید افسانوں پر انکا اثر

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF ROMANCE IN CLASSICAL URDU LITERATURE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MODERN URDU FICTION

SYED YUSUFUDDIN AHMAD BALKHI,
Madrasa Islamia Shamsul Hoda, Patna

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اردو افسانوں کی پیدائش سے پہلے اردو مصنّعون کے پاس دو ہی نمونے تھے
سنسکرت زبان کے افسانے یعنی رامائیس مہابھارت شکنتلا وغیرہ - اور فارسی کے رسمی اور
نرمی افسانے - چونکہ اردو زبان نے زیادہ تر مسلمانوں کی گود میں پرورش پائی
اور وہ سنسکرت سے نا آشنا تھے اس لئے اردو افسانہ نگاروں نے فارسی ہی کے ناع کی
گلیچندی کی *

فارسی میں جیسے افسانے لکھے گئے ان میں فردوسی کا شاہنامہ نظامی کا
سکندر نامہ - نظامی اور خسرو کی شہس و خسرو لیلی و محبتوں - فیضی کی
دل دمن اور دامن امیر حمزہ - حامی کی یوسف زلیخا نے عام مقبولیت حاصل کی
اور یہی افسانے اردو افسانوں کے لئے رہنمائی ہوئے *

رسمی افسانوں میں شاہنامہ ادبی ادبی خصوصیات اور اثر کے لحاظ سے سب سے
زیادہ ممتاز ہے - اس کا اصلی کمال وصف نگاری صریح نگاری اور واقعات کی تفصیل ہے
شاہنامہ میں رستم کی معرکہ ارنوں کے علاوہ دربار شاہی کا نقشہ - صف بندی -
ادب شاہی کا بیان - انعام و اکرام کی تفصیل - درباری لباس - فراموش کے احرا کا
طریقہ نامہ و پیام کا انداز - سادوں کے مراسم - جہیز کی چیزوں - مہمانی اور
عروسی کے سار و سامان - کا بیاں نہایت شرح و بسط کے ساتھ کیا
گنا ہے - فردوسی نے میدان جنگ کا نقشہ نہایت تفصیل کے ساتھ کھینچا ہے اور
جنگی ناخوں - مثلاً کوس - طبل - نقارہ وغیرہ - اور آلات حرب مثلاً گرز - تیغ - سپر

اعلیٰ سب سے ہی تھا کہ قطب شاہی اور عادل شاہی خاندان کے بادشاہوں نے اردو ہی کو دہتری زبان بنانا تھا اور یہی سب سے پہلے انتہائی دور میں اردو کو دلی سے پہلے دکن میں شروع ہوا *

دکنی زبان کا سب سے پہلا افسانہ جہاں تک تاریخی طور پر معلوم ہوتا ہے عوامی کا قصہ سیف الملوک سہراۃ مصر اور بدیع العمال ڈیہادی چن ہے اس کی تصنیف سنہ ۱۶۲۵ء میں ہوئی مگر اس کے نسخے گونا گونا گویا ہیں اسی سب سے دہائے افسانہ کے مولف نے طوطی نامے کو پہلا افسانہ مانا ہے ۔ یہ فارسی کا ترجمہ ہے ۔ اسی مصنف کا دوسرا قصہ طوطی نامہ سنہ ۱۶۳۹ء میں لکھا گیا ۔ یہ صبا بخشی کے طوطی نامے کا ترجمہ ہے جس کی اصل سنسکرت ہے اس میں چھوٹی چھوٹی کہانیاں ہیں جن کو ادبی اساتذہ کا ہاتھ حاصل نہیں ہے ۔ مگر اس نے معقولیت عام حاصل کی اور مختلف زبانوں میں اس کا ترجمہ کیا گیا زبان نصف فارسی نصف ہندی ہے ۔ یہ ترجمہ دو طرح کے تھے ایک وہ جس کے اشخاص قصہ ہندوستانی تھے اور قصوں کی جگہیں بھی ہندوستانی تھیں ۔ دوسرے وہ جس کے ہیرو انراہی تھے اور جگہیں بھی انراہی تھیں ۔ 'رحمیں میں اس بساطی کی بھول بن ۔ (سنہ ۱۶۶۶ء) بھرتی کی گلاس عشق (قصہ مدوہر اور مدوہہ مالدی) اور عاشر کی لال و گوہر اور تصنیفوں میں کام روپ کلا اول الذکر کی مثالیں ہیں جن میں بھاسا کا رنگ غالب ہے ۔ بھول بن میں ایک خاص باب ہے کہ اس میں اپنے والد سے جانوروں کے والد میں آجاتے ہیں کام روپ کلا کے بھی اشخاص قصہ سب ہندو ہیں اور جگہیں بنگال اور اودھ میں بھاسا کے طور پر عورت عاشق ہوئی ہے ان کے سوا سب ترجمہ انراہی مصنفوں کے ہیں اس لئے ان کے اشخاص قصہ زیادہ تر انراہی ہیں ان افسانوں کی بہرست دہلی میں مقصود نہیں محض ان لکھنا چاہتے تھے کہ اسی دور میں یوسف رلیکا بھٹ بکر اور بہرام گور وعدہ کا ترجمہ ہوا ۔ ان ترجموں نے آئندہ افسانہ نگاروں کے لئے انراہی اور ملکی افسانوی ادب کا گہری سرمایہ فراہم کر دیا *

سنہ ۱۷۱۹ء کے بعد محمد شاہی دور میں دہلی اردو کا مرکز ہوئی اس دور میں صرف ایک نظمیں اساتذہ کا ہاتھ چلنا ہے یعنی ضائل علی حان نے قصہ کا انسا افسانہ عشق حسن کا ذکر میر حسن نے اپنے تذکرہ میں کیا ہے *

کی بنا عشق بر ہے - مگر اس میں سلطنت کی شاں و شوکت - نایہ تحت کی رونق - اور چہل پہل - لا ولدی کی حالت میں بادشاہ کی عاوسی اور دنا سے بیراری - حوتسیوں کی گفگو - شاعرانہ کی ولاد اور چغتائی کی تقریب - دودھ بڑھانے کی رسم - محفل نشاط کے تہانہ - گانے والیوں کے لباس - آداب و لحاظ - راغنیوں اور ہر قسم کے ناخوں کا نام - حمام میں نہانے کی کیفیت - شامانہ لباس اور حواہرات کا بدل - بیگموں کی ہوشاک - ربورات - بناؤ سنگار - حوانگاہ کا نقشہ - مکانوں کی آرائش - ناعوں کا سماں - شادی کے مراسم کی دوری دوری مصوری کی ہے - ہر منظر کی صریح کٹی اس کی حرثیات کی ہوری تفصیل کیساتھ اس بیراہ میں کی ہے کہ اس کا نقشہ آنکھوں کے سامنے کھج جاتا ہے - اس مثنوی میں حدیجی معرکہ آرائیوں کے سوا سامانہ کی قرب قرب کل خصوصیات موجود ہیں - بعض شعر میں سامانہ کا اثر صاف طور پر نمایاں ہے -

* بیت *

کہا رہ رہ سے ہم نے بہر سگوں کہ دوں دوں حوشیکی جگر کیس ندوں

اسکاف اسعار

بادشاہ کے ناع کا بدل حو ساعرانہ نے نظر کے لیے تیار کیا گیا تھا —

دنا شہ نے ترتیب اک حانہ ناع	ہوا رشک سے حس کے لالہ کو داع
چھتیں اور بردے بندھے رنگار	دروں نہ کھتری دست بستہ بہار
کوئی دور سے در بہ اٹکا ہوا	کوئی رہ نہ حوی سے لٹکا ہوا
سہری معرق چھتیں سارداں	وہ دیوار اور در کی گلکارداں
وہ محفل کا فرش اسکا سترا کہ بس	بڑے حس کے آگے نہ ہائے ہوس
چمپرکھت مرصع وہ دالاں من	چمکنا دمکنا تما ہر آن من
چمیلی کہیں اور کہیں موقنا	کہیں رائے بیل اور کہیں موگرا
کہیں جعفری اور گیندا کہیں	سماں شب کو داؤدوں کا کہیں
کھڑے سرو کی طرح چمپا کے حار	کہے تو کہ حوشوئیوں کے بہار
کھڑے بہر نہ قار اور فرقرے	لئے سانہ عرمانوں کے برے
مدا قروں کی بطوں کا وہ شور	درختوں نہ نگلے مندروں نہ مور

شاہی دربار کے انعام و اکرام کی تقسیم —

تجھ سیر کو میں نے گھوڑا دیا کہ اس مالرادی کو حوڑا دیا
 الگ ہم سے ہوں رہنا اور چھوٹنا یہ اوپر ہی اوپر سرے لوٹنا
 بدر میسر کی سہیلی بحم النساء و بر رادی بینظر کی تلاش میں ہوگی کے ہمیں
 میں نکلتی ہے اور ایک ممدان میں بس نکاتی ہے - شاہزادہ مرور بخت سلاہ ص کا
 بننا اس سے ہوں ہمکلام ہونا ہے —

بہ سمجھا بناوٹ کا کچھ نہیں ہے لگا کہلے ہوگی حی آؤس ہے
 بڑا تم نہ اساکو کنا ہووگ لینا واسطے کس کے تم نے یہ ہووگ
 کدھر سے تم آئے کدھر جاوے گئے دنا انبی ہم پر بھی فرماوے گئے
 حوگن کا جواب —

کہا ہنس کے ہوگی نے ہر بول ہر جہاں سے ہو آنا چلا جا اُدھر
 طوالت کے اندسے سے میں زیادہ اشعار کا نمونہ نہیں دکھانا مثنوی سحر الہاں
 ہمدوستاں کے مسلمان سلاطین کے آخری دور کے تمدن کا آئینہ ہے جس میں ہر
 واقع کا پورا پورا عکس پڑتا ہے - اگر اس داستان سے رومانی عنصر یعنی دیو بری اور
 ص کا ہاں نکال دیا جائے تو یہ داستان ایک منظوم ناول ہو جائے - اس میں ناول اور
 ڈرامے کے عناصر کثرت سے موجود ہیں اس لحاظ سے یہ ناول اور ڈرامے کی بیش دو
 کہی جا سکتی ہے - مختصر یہ کہ مدر جس کی بدولت اردو افسانے نے ارتقاء کی کئی
 منزل طے کرلیں *

مثنوی سحر الہاں کا اثر دور ما بعد کے اکثر افسانوں پر پڑا اس داستان کا آغاز
 بادشاہ کی لا ولدی اور حکومتوں کی بشارت سے ہوتا ہے - حاتم طائی - باغ و بہار اور
 سناہ عجائب کا آغاز بھی کسیدر تعمر کسانہ اسطرح ہوتا ہے - اندر دنیا میں
 گلہام حب کوئیں میں فد کردا جانا ہے ہو سر بری ہوگی کے بھیس میں اُدھر
 اُدھر کی خاک چھانی ہوئی اندر کے دربار میں پہنچتی ہے اور گلہام کو فد سے رہا
 کراتی ہے (فرید اعلیٰ ہے کہ یہ حصہ مدر جس کی اس داستان سے ماحود ہے
 حب بینظر کو مامرح بری کوئیں میں فد کر دیی ہے 'ور بحم النساء اس کی
 تلاش میں ہوگی بنکر بس ہاتھ میں لیکر بیاباں بوردی اختیار کرتی ہے) *

اندسوں صدی سے نثری افسانوں کا دور شروع ہوا - ان میں زیادہ تر افسانے وہ
 میں حو نورث ولیم کالج میں فارسی اور معاشا سے ترجمہ کئے گئے ان افسانوں میں ارتقائی

سنہ ۱۸۲۷ء میں فسانۂ عجائب لکھی گئی کذاب اسم نا مسمیٰ ہے - اسکی شہرت معمولی حصر صیاب سے زیادہ مستح عیار کی وجہ سے ہے - اس میں قدرتی مناظر کا بیان اس درر کے اور افسانوں سے زیادہ ہے اور اشیا کی تفصیل بھی *

اس سلسلہ کی آخری کڑی داستان امیر حمزہ ہے جسکی تصنیف تقریباً سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء میں ہوئی اس سلسلۂ داستان کو افسانوں کا انتہائے کمال کہا جائے اس میں طلسم ہوشروا سب سے بہتر ہے - جہانگیر تاریخی طور پر معلوم ہے اس صحاحات کا افسانہ دنیا کی کسی زبان میں لکھا نہیں گیا *

اس کے مصنف نے تحویل کی انتہائی بلند برواری دکھائی ہے مصنف کا ایک بڑا کمال تو یہی ہے کہ صحاحات کے باوجود قصہ کا ربط تمام قائم ہے کوئی قصہ ادھورا نہیں چھوڑا ہے ربط کے ساتھ اس کا تمام لحاظ رکھا ہے کہ کسی قصہ کسی طلسم بلکہ کسی نام کی بی تکرار نہ ہو *

اس سے پہلے کے کل افسانے برمی اسمائے تھے مگر نہ رزم و نرم کا مجموعہ ہے - فارسی رزم کا اثر غالب ہے بہلوانوں کے نام زیادہ تر وہی ہیں حوشاہنامہ کے بہلوان ہیں مثلاً افراسیاب - گسٹم وغیرہ اس سے پہلے کے افسانوں میں عیاروں کا ذکر نہیں ہے مگر اس میں عیاروں کی عیاری انک قابل قدر اضافہ ہے اور نفسیات کا انک بہترین مطالعہ *

مصنف کی قابلیت کا اعلیٰ ترین حوہرہ ہے کہ بیشمار اشخاص قصہ کے باوجود ہر کی انفرادی خصوصیات کو قائم رکھا ہے - لاکھوں عیار ہیں مگر سب کے عیاری کے طریقے ایک دوسرے سے بالکل جداگانہ ہیں لاکھوں ساحر ہیں مگر سب کی ساحری انک دوسرے سے اس طرح علیحدہ ہے کہ بڑے والا بغیر نام حائے ہوئے صرف عیاری - ساحری اور سپاہیوں کے حیلے کو بڑھ کر کہہ دے سکتا ہے کہ اس قصہ کا ہنر و کون ہے *

سیرت نگاری کا نہ عنصر اسی داستان کا اضافہ ہے - اس سے پہلے گونا معدوم تھا * مصنف نے اشخاص کے فرق مراتب کا بہت لحاظ رکھا ہے - جسکی ایک مثال یہ ہے کہ افراسیاب کنہی گردار نہیں ہوا - اور قتل بھی ہوا تو روح کے معرر نہیں سپہ سالار کے ساتھ سے *

اب دوسرے باب میں بعد کے اثرات بیان کئے جائیں گے۔ مگر یہ مصوموں خود ایک دلچسپ مصوموں ہے اس لئے بہت رتی بات ہے۔ سعادت حیدر - بیار - ہرم چند - سدرس اور دوسرے افسانہ نگاروں کی روایت پر خاکسار ایک مستقل مصوموں انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ ناظرین کی خدمت میں پیش کریگا *

خاکسار

سید یوسف الدین احمد بلخی

ام - اے - ڈپ - ای ڈی

انگلش ٹیچر مدرسہ اسلامہ شمس الہدیٰ

نانکی نور دتہ

۱۶ دسمبر سنہ ۱۹۳۰ع

Arabic and Persian Section

President

MOULVI HIDAYAT HUSSAIN

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ABU TAMMAM'S POETRY

A HAQ

The poems of Abu Tammam, the leader of the great Abbasid trio,¹ were frequently studied and appreciated during the poet's life time. But, though they continued for a long time after his death to receive the admiration of literary men, the appearance of Mutanabbi² on the poetical horizon somewhat dimmed their fame. To day, wherever Arabic literature is studied Mutanabbi is held in high esteem as the greatest poet that the Islamic age has produced. In earlier times, no doubt, the Diwans of all the three poets, were equally studied and it became a matter of controversy which of the three was the best. The author of al-Mathal al-Sair, who lived in the later decades of the sixth century of the Hijra, recommends the study of these three Diwans to the exclusion of all others,³ and further relates that when he went to Damascus and to Egypt,⁴ he found that the literary men of those places did not study carefully the poems of Abu Tammam and Mutanabbi.⁵

As has been already stated, Mutanabbi is the most popular of modern Arabic poets in the East of to day. Numerous editions of his Diwan have been and are still being published, while on the contrary, the poems of Abu Tammam are seldom read, so far, only four editions of the Diwan having been issued. No doubt his difficult style, his frequent employment of obscure words, and the complex nature of the poems have contributed much to their unpopularity. Below will be found a passage from Aghani which illustrates the views that were held when the author of that great work lived.⁶ Speaking of Abu Tammam, he says, 'He was a gifted poet of subtle intellect, fond of unusual and obscure ideas. He has a style of his own in Mutabaqa (Antithesis) which almost entitles him to be considered its originator. Although many of the poets who preceded

¹ i.e. Abu Tammam, Buhturi, and Mutanabbi

² b 303 A.H., d. 354 A.H.

³ Al Mathal al Sair 470-472, pub. Cairo, cf. Nishwar of Tanukhi 177 (16-19)

⁴ 587 A.H. and 596 A.H. respectively

⁵ See *ibid.*, 469-470

⁶ He died in 356 A.H. Yaqut's *Irshad* vi, 5, 149-168

poetry, Al Maarri (d 449 A H) in his book *Dhikra*¹ Habib says, 'The understanding of Abu Tammam's poems was rendered more difficult by the "relatois" who were not well versed in literature and the ignorant transcribers who misplaced vowels and even changed the letters' Like all great writers and poets Abu Tammam was the product of an intellectual ancestry In his poems, as we shall see later, he mentions many poets of Jahiliyya and Islam He acknowledges Kuthayyir as the master composer of the *nasib* (the erotic-prelude) He struck out a new path in the field of Arabic poetry which was followed by many eminent poets In writing the history of Arabic poetry we shall have to call the period beginning with the Caliphate of Mutasim as the period of Abu Tammam

In comparing his poetry with that of Buhturi and Mutanabbi what strikes one most is that many ideas and expressions are common to all of them Abu Tammam was well versed both in pre Islamic and Islamic poetry,² as his famous anthology of *Hamasa* bears witness, and his acquaintance with these could not but have influenced his ideas and diction Though the easy style of Buhturi and the fine texture of Mutanabbi's versification stand in vivid contrast to that of Abu Tammam, yet it is futile to deny the influence which the thought and expression of the latter have exercised over them Indeed Buhturi³ has avowed the greatness of Abu Tammam, but Mutanabbi was too proud to give him an equally generous recognition The following interesting dialogue took place between Muhammad b Hasan al-Hatimi (d 388 A H) and Mutanabbi⁴ When

Cf al Wasata 11 12—Amidi 16, seqq Yatima (i, 105–125) by Thaahbi in which he has criticised Mutanabbi

¹ Hajji Khalfah (Kashf al Zunun) iii, 253 The book *Dhikra* Habib in which al Maarri has selected Abu Tammam's poems and explained them, is not so far discovered

² Amidi 23 cf Ibn Khallikan, i, 151

³ Cf Aghani xiii, 168, Buhturi reviving the memory of Dir'bil and Abu Tammam says (Amidi, 21)

مد رادى حربي و اوفد لوعتى مثنوى حبيب يوم مات و دعل
اعل المعاني المسحيلة ان عم طلبوا البراعة بالكلام المعقل

also incidentally he mentions the name of Abu Tammam in his *Diwan* (58, i, last line) pub Cairo

و تعجب من عمر ما انا فيه فكدا كل مسلم و حبيب

⁴ Yaqt's *Irshad* vi, 6, 513–517 Cf Ibn Khallikan i, 646–648

Abu Tammam in his poems mentions many poets of pagan and Islamic days, and alludes to other men of letters and art. Among the poets referred to by him are Imru'ul Qays,¹ Abid b al-Abras,² Zuhayr,³ Labid,⁴ Ziyad⁵ (i.e. Nabigha of Dhubyān), the two Ashas⁶ (i.e. Maymun b. Qays Asha of Wahi and Asha of Bahila, Jarwal⁷ (al-Hutay'a), Farazdaq,⁸ Akhlit,⁹ Jarir,¹⁰ al-Barth,¹¹ Ghaylan¹² (Dhu'l-Rumma) Masud,¹³ the brother of Dhu'l-Rumma. He also mentions the name of Kuthayyir in connection with his erotic preludes,¹⁴ of Layl al-Akhyaliya as a writer of elegies¹⁵. He refers to the Yatima of Ibn al-Muqaffa', (d. circa 142 A.H.) as a masterpiece of eloquence¹⁶. Ma'bad he calls him the greatest of singers¹⁷. Praising the easy style of Zuhayr, he says, that his ideas were not in need of explanation by Hippocrates, the physician¹⁸.

Most of the names of women¹⁹ mentioned in the erotic preludes, in which he sings about their love as did the old Arabian bards, seem to be quite fictitious, since there is hardly anything in his poems suggesting that any one of them was a real person. Though in one of his elegies²⁰ he laments the death of a slave girl, he does not mention her name. Even many places mentioned in the erotic preludes are fictitious,²¹ his mention of such places being the result of his imitation of the earlier poets. There are, nevertheless, many places mentioned in his poems with which he was acquainted, such as Nisabur, Raqqa,²² etc.

¹ Diwan 23 (last line), 87 (13) in this verse he calls him by the name of الملك المصل (i.e. the vagrant prince), 322 (14)

² 84 (last line) ³ 489 (6) ⁴ 82 (9), 363 (1), 87 (13)

⁵ 80 (13) ⁶ 87 (13) ⁷ 65 (15)

⁸ 153 (last line), 238 (5), 396 (5) ⁹ 238 (5)

¹⁰ 67 (Penultimate line), 496 (5) ¹¹ 67 (Penultimate line)

¹² 9 (6) 496 (15) ¹³ 82 (8)

¹⁴ 26 (9), 40 (2), the poet calls him Kuthayr while his real name is Kuthayyir. Cf. Amidi, 5

¹⁵ 40 (1)

¹⁶ 40 (2) two Yatimas one of which is al-Durrat al-Yatima, together with other small treatises by Ibn al-Muqaffa' were edited by Kurd Ali and published at Cairo, in 1331 A.H. But the authenticity of the Yatimas may be disputed

¹⁷ 103 (7) ¹⁸ 489 (7)

¹⁹ e.g. Zaynab, Rabab, (18, penultimate line) etc ²⁰ 388 (12)

²¹ e.g. Aqiq, Lawa, U'ayab, Diwan 12 (4, 9)

²² Cf. the 1st part of the chapter

by the author of *Sharh-al Madnun*¹ and al Jurjani (d 366 A H) in his book *al Wasata*² has criticised his poems

Biographies of the poet were written by Abu Bakr-al-Suh³ and by Muhammad b Imran al-Marzubani⁴

His poems have been divided into eight categories, viz —

- 1 The Panegyrics—al-Madaih
- 2 The Elegies—al-Marathi
- 3 Complaints and rebukes—al Mua'tabat
- 4 Love poems—al Ghazal
- 5 Descriptive poems—al-Awsaf
- 6 Poems of boasting—al-Fakhr
- 7 Lampoons and satires—al-Hiya
- 8 Poems on asceticism—al-Zuhd

His Diwan is full of epigrams⁵, and several poems were written by him as poetical epistles to his friends⁶

From a poem⁷ which he wrote in reply to a friend's letter, it is evident that the practice of pointing and vocalising letters was common in his time

¹ شرح المصنوع في علمي غير اعمد by Ubayd al Lah b Abd al Kafi, pub Cairo, 1331 A.H

² Pub Sayda in 1331 A H

³ Ibn Khallikan i, 643

⁴ Fihrist 132, died in 384 Ibn Khallikan i, 643

⁵ 416, etc Many of his verses are quoted in the *Kamil* of Mubbarrad to be cited as proverbs See *Kamil* ed by Wright Chap xxxii, 232, 238

⁶ Diwan 241, 343-346, 405

⁷ 418 419

AN UNKNOWN ANCIENT ARABIC ODE

DR S M HUSSAIN, M A , D PHIL (Oxon)

The author of this poem is an-Nazzâr b Hâshim al-Asadi. Nothing is known of the poet, he has no article in the *Aghânî* or anywhere else. In the British Museum MS of the *Kitâb al-Manzûm wa 'l-Manthûr*, however, our poem is found largely quoted and mentioned 'as a post-Islamic product'.¹ This gives an index to the poet's time. Besides, in the poem he has not only used 'ar-Rahmân,' a name of God in the Quran,² but he has also employed 'Rajaz Mashîr'—an unusual metre for an early poet. We can, thus, only gather that an-Nazzâr b Hashim was an Islamic poet.

This long ode of an-Nazzâr has not been published anywhere. It is an extremely difficult poem, in several places it is hard to follow what the poet means. He uses very difficult, and, at times, unusual words to suit the rhyme, as it seems.

The poem is, however, highly interesting—particularly in its fine pictures of animal life. It is wholly descriptive, without any ulterior object such as is found in the classical odes, and describes successively several animals.

The poet begins sadly describing the ruined traces of his former association that dispersed on the outbreak of a great famine (vv 1-5) he then recollects his early days when he rode forth on the 'bold demon of youth' (vv 6-7) which he successively compares to an onager (vv 8-11) escaping the hunter (vv 12-26), to an ostrich hastening with its female towards their egg (vv 27-40), to an antelope encountering the dogs of a huntsman (vv 41-54), and to a falcon chasing a flight of sand-grouse (vv 55-60), likened to a hunter, a plunderer by night and to a luckless gambler (vv 61-64). The poet then ends by resuming the description of his mount—seemingly, a she camel (vv 65-66).

1 Fol 56b من المولدات بعد الاسلام

2 'Ar Rahman' is, however, found in the pre-Islamic inscriptions

(١٠) طَلَّ بِقُفٍّ فَرَّقَ أَحْلَافُهُ بُوِي الصَّوِي مِثْلَ السَّيْبِ الْعَرَبَانِ

(١١) فَارَقَ إِلَافًا بَعْدَ إِلَفٍ وَاشْتَأَى فِي قَرْحٍ مُتَسَقَاتِ الْأَسْنَانِ

(١٢) مَطَرَدٍ فِي عَدْنَةٍ مَشِينَةٍ دِي مَيْعَةٍ أَسَاؤُهُ كَالْحَنَانِ

(١٣) وَ مُقَفَّلَاتٍ بَقِيَ الْأَرْضَ بِهَا مَسَلَمَاتٍ مِنْ حِجَابِ الْكَدَانِ

(١٤) إِذَا أَلْتَقَى فَكَّ عَنْ صَعْنِي حَلَا لَحْيِيهِ لَمْ يَحْيَ عَلَيْهِ اللَّحْيَانِ

(١٥) لَهُ شَطَا لَا عَيْبَ فِيهِ مِنْ شَطَا هَمِي لِلْحَرَى وَ مَتْنٍ رَبَّنَا

(١٦) إِلَى عُحَايَاتٍ لَهُ مَلَكُورَةٍ فِي دَحْسٍ دُرْمٍ الْكُعُوبِ أَفْنَانِ

(١٧) أَكْرَمَ تَحْتَ وَطْفٍ مَلَكُوتَةٍ أَوْسٍ مِي الْحَرَى أَشَدَّ الْأَمَانِ

(١٠) ورد في نسخة معاني الشعر ١٤٤ (١) مع (مرقاً أَحْلَافُهُ) *

و روى في نسخة المنظوم و المتنور (صحناً اقترانه) بدل (قَرِي أَحْلَافُهُ) *

(١١) برسم الأصل و (اشتا) موضع " و اشتاى " كما صطنا *

وروى في نسخة المنظوم و المتنور هكذا

رانلص بعد إِلَفٍ فاشتاى من قرح متسقات الأسنان

(١٢) بالأصل (الكدان) كذا بالبدال المعجمة موضع " الكدان " *

و في نسخة المنظوم و المتنور (مسطحات) بدل (مُقَفَّلَاتٍ) و (الْأَكْم) بدل (الْأَرْضِ) و ايضا (مسلمات) بدل (مَسَلَمَاتٍ) *

(١٥) في نسخة المنظوم و المتنور (ركب) بدل (هَمِي) *

(١٦) بالأصل (عحايات) مصحفاً عن " عحايات " *

حاء في اللسان ٣٧٣ (١٢) مع القاعة (ائنان) و كذا ايضا موسوم بالأصول

لعله " أَفْنَانٌ " (معني متسعات) كما صطنا *

وروى في نسخة المنظوم و المتنور مختلطا بالبيت التالي هكذا

الى عحايات له مليمومة اوسى في الاسرى اشد الايمان

(١٧) في نسخة المنظوم و المتنور يروى العحر

بدامس سنة بين العيطل *

(٢٥) وَ حَالٌ نَدْرُو لَيْسَ دُرُو ^و مِنْ طَائِرٍ لَيْسَ لَهُ حَنَاحٌ

(٢٦) وَ أَهْلُ الثَّانِي أَنْ يَوْمِي بِهِ ^و وَ قَلَّ مَا أَصْطَمَ عَلَيْهِ الصَّدَانُ

(٢٧) أَذَاكَ أَمْ فَوْقَ حَيْلٍ سَابِجٍ ^و أَفَرَعَ نَسَاجٍ لِشَرِي الْقُرْبَانِ

(٢٨) أَيُّ رِيَالٍ مَرِيعٍ طَلْسُونُهُ ^و رَاعٍ الْقَوَادِ مُسْتَحِفِّ الشَّيْطَانِ

(٢٩) كَانِمَا هُوَ حَشِي مَائِلٍ ^و عَاوٍ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ قِلَادٍ هِدْمَانِ

(٣٠) أُنْعَسَ مِنْطُورٍ بِهِ وَ طَاهِرٍ ^و حَوْنٍ وَ أَمَّ بِشَيْعٍ عَلَيْهِ الثُّورَانِ

(٣١) مَدْمَلِكُ لِرَاسٍ كُلِّ حَظْمَةٍ ^و فِي الرَّاسِ مَدْعَا سَيْدِهِ مُشْطَانِ

(٢٥) في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو بروى الصدر قمر لا دارى بدارى درءة *

(٢٦) في الاصول "الصدان" نالصاد موضع "الصَّدَانُ" *

و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (ألف) بدل "اصطم" *

(٢٧) نالاصل "لسرى" كذا بالنسب موضع "لِشَرِي" *

و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (ظلم خاص) بدل "حَيْلٍ سَابِجٍ" *

(٢٨) في الاصل (راعى) و الصور "راع" من الروع *

و في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو (وشر) بدل "مَرِيعٍ" *

(٢٩) نالامل "نلاد" مصحفا عن "قِلَادٍ" و بروى في نسخة المنظوم و المثنو

كانمما هو حشسي رائج عان عليه من نجاد هدمان

(٣١) في الاصول "مشطان" كذا بالطاء محذرا عن "مُشْطَانِ" و "مدملك"

مصحفا عن "مَدْمَلِكُ" و روى في نسخة معاني الشعر ٣١٠ (١) و نسخة المنظوم و

المثنو (محدوح العن) بدل "مَدْمَلِكُ الرَّاسِ" *

و في نسخة معاني الشعر ايضا (حقيان) بدل "مُشْطَانِ" *

(١٤٠) فَشَرًّا بِحُجْرَتِي بِصِفَمَا كَالْبَيْتِ لَمَّا حَانَهُ الْبَوَائِلُ

(١٤١) أَذَاكَ أَمْ فَوْقَ نَحِيسٍ سَارِحٍ فِي يَوْمٍ طَلَّ مِدْرِيَاةٌ حَوَائِلُ

(١٤٢) كَأَنَّمَا هُوَ رَامِحٌ فِي يَمَلِقٍ رَفٌّ لَهُ حَتَّى اكْتَسَاهُ الْكَعْبَلُ

(١٤٣) اِزْعَمُ مِنْ حِقَقَةٍ لَمَّا عَدَا صَوْتُ قَنْبِصٍ وَتَدَدَى مَعَنَانُ

(١٤٤) وَكَأَنَّ لَا تُصْبِحُ إِلَّا سَارِحًا مِنْ آبِسِ الْأَرْضَى لِحُحْسِ السَّعْدَانِ

(١٤٥) إِذَا الصَّرَاءُ مَشَقَّتْ أَعْطَافُهُ مَشَقَّ الْمَلَاحِينَ بِيَابَ الدِّفْعَانِ

(١٤٦) كَرَّ بِطَعْنٍ مُسْرِدًا كَأَنَّهُ مُكَافِي يَوْمَ تَرَامَى الْحَمْعَانِ

(١٤٧) كَأَنَّ قَرِيبَهُ عَلَى تَحْدِيدِهِ مَا لَتَلَانِ وَهُمَا هِلَالَانِ

(١٤٨) كَأَنَّ يَمِينَهُ كَلْبًا وَقَدْ فَرَى مِنْهُ الْعَشَى وَاحْتَلَّ مِنْهُ الْحِصَانُ

(١٤٩) كَأَنَّهُ لَمَّا طَوَّاعًا بِالْعَلَا دَرَى نَحْمٍ شَلَّهِ دَرِيَانُ

(٥) قَمَرٌ يَطْوِيهَا كَأَنَّ حَرِيهَ مِمَّا بَوَالِي الشَّدَتَيْنِ الْمِيدَانِ

(١٤٠) في الاصل "فَشَرًّا" معروفا عن "فَشَرًّا" *

(١٤١) في نسخة المنظوم و المتنور (صامى الأدم) بدل "فِي يَوْمٍ طَلَّ" *

(١٤٢) بالاصول "يلمق" مقلوبا عن "يلمق" *

(١٤٣) في الاصول "ازعم" كذا بالراء موصع "ازعم" و "حققة" كذا مصعفا

عن "حَقَقَةٍ" و انما "سدي" معروفا عن "تَدَدَى" *

(١٤٤) و يروى في نسخة المنظوم و المتنور هكذا

و كأن لا تصبح الا قالا من احل الارطى لقلع السعدان

(١٤٥) ورد في نسخة معاني الشعر ٢ ص ٧٧ ط مع (عرويه) بدل "أعطافه" *

(١٤٨) بالاصول "كأن منه كلب" موصع "كأن فيه كلبا" كما صطنا *

و في الاصل انما "الحصان" بالصاد معروفا عن "الحصان" *

- (٦) بَعْرَةٍ مِنْ دَحْوَةٍ فِي رَعْوَةٍ مَصْطَفَاتٍ كَامِطَاتٍ الْعِدْرَانِ
 (٦١) كَانَهُ مُقْتَبِصٌ فِي كَفِّهِ حَمْسٌ وَ قَدْ أَفْلَتَ مِنْهُ يُنْبِئُ
 (٦٢) أَوْ حَابِسٌ فِي لَيْلِهِ نُثِيرُهَا عَنْ مِثْلِ أَمْثَالِ الْكَلَى بِالْعِرَانِ
 (٦٣) أَوْ تَسْرُ شَاظَ عَلَى أَرْلَامِهِ وَ قَدْ دَا تَعَانَا وَ التَّعْنَانِ
 (٦٤) فِي صِيرَةٍ فِيمَا سَعَا حَوْعٌ كَانَا الْعِقْنَانِ بَيْنَ الْعِقْدَانِ
 (٦٥) كَدَاكَ هَاتِيكَ إِذَا طَالَ السُّرَى وَ عُلِقَتْ أَكْوَارُهَا بِالْكِيرَانِ
 (٦٦) فَاغْلَطْتُ عَنْ مِثْلِ تِمِّ الرِّبْلَانِ حَبْرَانَا مِنْ قُلٍّ ثُمَّ الْحَبْرَانِ

- (1) Nothing did stir up a passion fondly associated with grief
 And the tears of an eye shedding in profusion, continually
 pouring—
 (2) Except the remains of a familiar ash-heap,
 And a familiar ruined dwelling and cattle pens ,
 (3) Or (pegs looking) like horns, and brownish, dark coloured
 (hearth-stones),
 Which were formerly grey, and two see saws ,
 (4) Or (trenches) like bent bows, which have stones set up
 Being left unoccupied for a long time in the past
 (5) Time of famine called them to a death from hunger,
 Which forcibly causes separation among friends
 (6) And I see myself in the visitations of youthful folly,
 In the days when my womenfolk travelling were cheering
 other women travelling
 (7) The days of my journeying on the bold demon of youth,
 When unto my 'junn' I drew the 'juns'

(٦٢) فِي الْاَصُولِ " حَابِسٌ " مَصْحُفًا عَنْ " حَابِسٌ " *

(٦٣) بِالْاَصْلِ " شَعَابٌ " مَوْصُوعٌ " سَعَابٌ " وَ هُوَ تَصْحِيفٌ *

(٦٦) فِي الْاَصْلِ " ثُمَّ " مَوْصُوعٌ " تِمِّ " وَ اَيْضًا " الْحَبْرَانِ " مَوْصُوعٌ " الْحَبْرَانِ "

(21) (Not) till when it became possible for him (to make) a charge (on the ass)—

Not far off and near the side of the herbs (of the hunter's lair)—

(22) (That) he mounted (on the bow) an arrow whose head was about a span,

And whose shaft was but a little less than two spans

(23) Then his palm placed over the notch between two (ends of the arrow)

A well twisted cord¹ behind the evenly cut narrow feather

(24) But the changing fates of death, and the action of the Merciful (God)

Turned the arrow aside when it flew towards him

(25) And it turned round deviating—no greater would be the deviation

Of a wingless bird

(26) And he hastened out the second (arrow) to shoot with,
But in a short time did the two sides of the valley enclose him²

(27) (Am I as though) on that ass or on an old male ostrich, swift running,

Scald headed, seeking eagerly the colocynth (plants by the side of) water courses,

(28) Father of young ostriches, with hollow shin bones,
Of fearful mind, and 'light witted'

(29) As though it were an Abyssinian who appears,
Yelling out, in two shabby garments which he has inherited

(30) One—the inner—white, and the outer, black

And the two garments do not do more than cover him

(31) Having a circular head, as if his beak

On his head were two clefts of the end pieces of a bow broken apart

(32) Knock-kneed, small headed, and the front part of (his) neck sticking out,

And his skull looking like a small pomegranate

¹ The commentary explains مُتَوَلَّد as حَافٍ, light, but the word really means 'firmly twisted' like rope

² That is, 'the wild ass escaped'

(46) He turned back (to make) an attack aiming rightly, as
though he was

A requiter on a day-when two hostile troops come forth (to
fight)

(47) It seemed that his two horns, notwithstanding his sharp-
ening (them),

Were two broad-headed spears, while they were (in shape)
two new moons

(48) As though he had hydrophobia, when he tore
His bowels and pierced his breast

(49) When he had warded them off, he looked in the plain like
A shining meteor driven to flight by two shining meteors

(50) Then he passes rolling up the distance (like cloth) and
his running appears to be

That of a race course in the way he combines two kinds of
running

(51) His blood covers pebbles—white pebbles,¹
And the fire thereof shoots up with fire

(52) (A dust cloud) which keeps close to him, resembling a
tower as he throws it up,

Thick and thin, in the bond of the plains

(53) And when they returned, they returned defeated,
Before them other hounds had been served in like fashion

(54) Then he made for the sandy ground of Haumal walking
In spring-pastures which herdsmen have not used as pasture

(55) Or (wore I as though) upon a falcon, drenched, which flies
brought down

With two wings of thick set feathers, one on each side

(56) He espied a flock of sand-grouse
Of dusky colour, all in line, hastening to the water

(57) Then he pursued the swarm eagerly,
Darting like a pestle of flint-stone

(58) They fly above him, at times he flies above them,
Both making wonderful moves in striving

(59) Then he darts downwards, as they come down, like a
flashing lightning,

Penetrating through them like the awl of Wardan²

¹ We have here to imagine that in the struggle the antelope was hurt and was bleeding, perhaps, from the legs through the bites of the dogs

² Wardan is here apparently the name of a well known cobbler but is not mentioned in any of the usual books of reference

EARLY PERSIAN POETRY

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Before discussing the subject, I must make an apology to the famous scholar A V Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian languages in the Columbia University, New York, for having borrowed the title of his exquisite book, '*Early Persian Poetry*' for an exposition of the subject on a thoroughly critical basis

No doubt to many people, and even to some scholars, the condition under which the real growth and development of Persian poetry took place is not clearly known. In this article no claim to originality is laid by the writer of these lines, but on the ground that a complete investigation of this problem has not been attempted by one scholar as yet, this notice might be considered as a result of the investigation and researches carried on this subject during the last three decades

One will admit that amongst the difficult problems that confront the student of Persian literature is the discovery of the first or the earliest or the oldest poet or piece of poetry. So far no satisfactory and conclusive evidence can be placed before us either by the older school of critics or by the modern workers in this field. There exists a vast amount of traditional literature about the beginnings of Persian poetry. From the *Chahar Maqala*, *Lubabu'l Albab* of 'Awfi, *Tazkiratu'sh-Shu'ara* of Dawlatshah, *Majma'u'l-Fusaha* of Riza Quli down to Ethe and Paul Horn's articles in the *Grundriss der iranischen philologie*, Browne's '*Literary History of Persia*', Biberstein Kazimirski's introduction to the *Diwan* of Minuchihri, Shibli's *Shi'ru'l-'Ajam* and the most modern books on Persian literature, like Prof A V Williams Jackson's '*Early Persian Poetry*' published in 1920, Mr R Levy's '*Persian Literature*' (1923), Prof Hadi Hasan's '*Studies in Persian Literature*' (1924), and Prof Abid Hasan Faridi's '*Outline History of Persian Literature*' (1928), all these works discuss the subject on the data handed down from one generation to another without making a rigid inquiry as to the authenticity of the earlier statements

Ahunavairi که سه مصراع دارد و هر مصراع از ۱۶ هجاء (۷ و ۹) ترکیب یافته و بحر "اوستواییتی" Ustavairi که پنج مصراع دارد و هر مصراع از ۱۱ هجاء (۷ و ۴) مرکب است و بحر "وشتوتیتی" Vahishtoiti که دو مصراع که هر یک از ۱۲ هجاء (۷ و ۵) و دو مصراع که هر یک از ۱۹ هجاء (۷ و ۱۲) ترکیب شده دارد *

اما احراقی منظوم اوستای جدید ساده تر و بی تکلف تر است زیرا که در اوستای جدید غالباً یک بحر موجود است و این بحر از هشت هجاء مرکب است (بحر دوازده هجائی بسیار کم یافت میشود) و تنها نسبت به عدد مصارع اختلافی دارد چونکه یک طعنه گاه از سه و گاه از چهار و گاه از پنج بعمل آمده است - این بحر هشت هجائی اگرچه در قدیم ترس احراء اوستا دیده نمی شود ولی باوجود این حلی قدیم نبوده باشد و بلا شک از آن ایام سابق که در آن ایرانیان و هندوان یک ملت بودند صادر شده زیرا که این بحر در ویدای عدد هم یافت میشود و بعدها در شعر هندی عمومی شده است همین طور که در شعر اوستای جدید *

Aqa Pur-i-Dau'd who has edited and translated the Gathas and the Yashts in his scholarly introduction to the Yashts writes in the following manner about the metre of the Yashts, which I here reproduce in the original Persian —

صفحه ۲۲ — بسنها نیز مانند گانها منظوم است ولی اورا آنها با همدگر فرق دارد در پنج گانها اشعار ۱۱ ، ۱۲ ، ۱۳ ، ۱۶ ، ۱۹ آهنگی (Syllables) میباشد ولی در شعری در اغلب بسنها ۸ آهنگی است و در میان آنها شعرهای ۱ و ۱۲ آهنگی در ۵ میسود و هر یک از این اورا منقسم به حدیثی قسم است در شعرهای ۸ آهنگی گهی سکنه (درنگ) در واسطه واقع است (۴+۴) و گهی بس از آهنگ سوم تا بس از آهنگ پنجم بدره هم بس از آهنگ دوم، در شعرهای ۱ آهنگی سکنه گهی در وسط واقع است (۵+۵) و گهی بس از آهنگ هشتم، در شعرهای ۱۲ آهنگی دو سکنه موجود است حای سکنه اولی مثل شعر ۸ آهنگی است یعنی ۴+۴ تا ۵+۳ تا ۵+۳ و حای سکنه دومی بس از آهنگ هشتم است - اندک بطور عموم اورا شعری بسنها *

Absence of Records regarding Medic, Achæmenian and Parthian Literature

On account of the absence of material we may pass over the Medic and the Achæmenian and the Parthian periods. The cuneiform inscriptions of the Achæmenides are too much occupied

are said to have been invented by Barbad in order to be sung anew every day of the month. Similarly the 'Turuqu'l-Mulukīyya' طروق الملوك which are counted as seven were meant to be chanted on each day of the week. In some of the older Arabic and Persian sources the airs of Barbad or the Nawa 1-Khusrawani are mentioned as follows —

۷	۶	۵	۴	۳	۲	۱
حسرو، ناع شهریار، ناع سیرس، اورنگی، شندبر، هفت گنج، گنج ناد آورد						
۱۳	۱۲	۱۱	۱	۹	۸	
گنج گاو، تحت اردشیر، اثین حمسد، کین اسرح، نورور کیقناد، سیاوس						
۲	۱۹	۱۸	۱۷	۱۶	۱۵	۱۴
کین سیاوس، بیکر گرد، بهاری، نورور بزرگ، سار نورور، ستر در ستر، گل بوس						
۲۶	۲۵	۲۴	۲۳	۲۲	۲۱	
سرو سستی، گنج دری، بالربان، آراش حرشید، ماه بر کوهان، پوشین ناده						
۳	۲۹	۲۸	۲۷			
روش چراع، بوس لیبلان، رامش حان، رامش جهان *						

Since nothing substantial has come down to us of the non-religious verse of the Sasanian times, we are unable to judge the metre and rhyme—if there was any—of these pieces or to estimate the nature of Pahlawi prosody. 'Awfi and Shams 1-Qays both agree that the Khusrawani airs sung by Barbad were without metre and rhyme, and without any literary grace (1), although they were full of encomiums on his sovereign. As against this, is the view that the ancient Persians, like the Greeks, used no rhyme in their poetical compositions and that a certain writer named Hasuni or Hashubi (2) had collected this kind of blank verse in a book which he called 'Yubah Namah', the Book of Desire. This brings us to the opinion of Dr Paul Horn who suggests that although the ancient Persians did not use rhyme in their poetry, they must at least have had metre. The folk-songs, in which the rhythm depends upon the number of syllables used in each verse, afford abundant proof in support of this theory. It can be safely adduced that the ancient Persian ballads did contain a kind of metre and rhyme, and that they were in some degree like the Saj' (rhymed prose) of the pre-Islamic Arabs. From what follows we may infer that the native poetry of Persia in the Sasanian times, as well as in the first two centuries of the Hijrah, was of a simple type more or less similar to the Rajaz of the Jahiliyya period. Their metre was of syllabic type much

Ta'rikh-i-Sistan, is a valuable specimen of (if not of pure), at least of corrupt, Sasanian poetry

فرحت سادا روئ	حلیده گرشائست موئ
همی برست ار خوئ	نوئ کس می نوئ
دوست ندا گوس	تاووس بهاده گوئ
همیشه بیکى گوئ	دی گذشت و دوئ
شاما حدا بگانا	تاووس شاعی

All these distiches are of seven syllables and give a clue to the Sasanian poetry. Either in the first century of Islam the Zoroastrians in imitation of their pre-Islamic poetry have framed these couplets or have made alterations in the old ones to suit the new requirements of the time.

(7) The much debated Inscription of Shahpur I in Hájjiabad according to the late Prof. Andreas of Göttingen contains verses relating to the foundation of a building at the hands of the king and his throwing of the arrow towards it as a beneficial act. These, he asserts, are in octosyllabic metre, but Prof. Jackson still expresses his doubt about the poetical form of these lines —

کی چیداعی الـدَری	چیدی کی دَسَتی بدی است
هال بادی تَد اس دَری	اَبو بَما اَدی و تَـبَـری
اوهال چیداعی ابواسَتی	س کی تَـبَـری اوهال چیداع
اَو گَدَی اَوِی دَسَتی بدی	

It means 'that the person who has laid the foundation of this edifice towards the west, and whose hand is good, has set his foot in this valley and thrown an arrow in the direction of this edifice, then the person, who has thrown an arrow towards this edifice, his hand is good.'

(8) Amongst the excavations in Turfan, in the Chinese Turkistan, Prof. Grunwedel has discovered Manichaen Papyri, some of which are written in North-Western Pahlawi while others in South-Western Pahlawi containing a few versified pieces in the octosyllabic metre. One of them runs as follows —

اوسر وانع اشوخرع همم چی اربابل ربيع وسبرخت همم

Pahlawī and Arabic were struggling to give birth to a common medium of expression—the modern Persian

Traditional literature about the birth of Persian poetry —

There have been several forefathers of Persian poetry, some under the garb of the first Persian poet, others as the earliest or the oldest poet of Persia. Legend has haunted Bahrām Gur, ‘Abbās-i-Marwazī, Abu Hafṣ Hakīm b Ahwaṣ Sughdī-i-Samarqandī, and even the anonymous son of Ya‘qūb b Layth Saffarī. Among the pioneers who have exploded these myths one after another are Āqa Mirzā ‘Abdu’l- ‘Azīm Khan of Gurgan, Āqā Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazwīnī now residing in Paris, Prof Mirza ‘Abbās Iqbāl Ashtiyānī and the present writer

First Legend —

Bahram Gur as the forefather of Persian poetry

The most widely prevalent notion about the birth of Persian poetry is that Bahram Gur in one of his hunting raids in a jubilant mood had a poetical contest with his beloved Dīl aram. The result of which is the production of this famous but notoriously apocryphal couplet

ممن آن بیل دمان و ممن آن سر بله
(۱) نام من بهرام گور و کنیتم روحله

This verse is found in several Arabic and Persian older sources under different readings. Apart from these verbal variations, these lines can never be attributed to Bahram Gur who ruled between 420 and 438 A D. A period in which Arabic poetry, if it did exist, was in its infancy, how this verse, based on the Arabic-Persian prosody, happened to be composed in that early period, when the Persian language of the modern type had no existence at all.

Second tradition ‘Abbās-i-Marwazī’s ode on Ma’mun on his entering in Marw in 193 A H

The story has received such a wide acceptance that every anthologist of Persia quotes it with great ceremony. Even modern critics have never expressed any doubt about it. The ode, according to ‘Awfi who first introduced it to the Persian language, begins

ای رسایده بدولت مرقی خود تا فرودش
گسترایده بعود و فصل در عالم بدش

(۱) نام بهرام گور و بهرام روحله

a forgery In the midst of the ode the poet says that as yet nobody had used the Persian language as the medium of poetic expression, despite the poet is intentionally doing it to honour the language by praising a patron of Ma'mun's type Did Ma'mun know enough Persian to judge the merit of these lines ? Or, are these lines the true specimen of the period ?

Another thing that strikes a reader about these lines, is the signal omission of such an important ode in the earlier Arabic or Persian records of the 2nd, 3rd or 4th or 5th century Neither the anthologist nor prosodist nor lexicographers make any mention of these important verses It is 'Awfi in the 7th century who is first announcing the dawn of Persian poetry in the person of 'Abbas Marwazi

The last argument about this doomed 'First poet of Persia,' is that these lines are written in the *Ramal-i Muthamman-i-Maqsur* (Mahdhuf)—a form peculiar to *Persian prosody* The originator of the Arabic prosody Khalil b Ahmad died in 175 A H Did the Persians within 18 years, i e , in 193 A H , change the Arabic prosody and adopt metres according to their taste in such a short period , and a poet like 'Abbas-i-Marwazi began writing such wonderful verse based on Arabico Persian prosody within two decades of Khalil's death ?

Third Tradition —

Abu Hafṣ Hakīm b Ahwas as the oldest poet of Persia

The line is too famous to be quoted

آفری کوی در دشت چگونه دودا
 نار ندارد بی نار چگونه رودا

Shams-i-Qays in his important treatise on Prosody *Mu'jam fi Ma'ar-i-Asha'r-il-'Ajam* quoting Farabi (died in 339 A H) says that Abu Hafṣ was a perfect musician and that the instrument *Shahrud* was his invention and he died in 300 A H In this case the language of the piece is in conformity with the period mentioned, but there flourished poets earlier than Abu Hafṣ in the 3rd century of Hijra like Hazala of Badghis (flourished about 236 A H = 850 A D), Firuz-i-Mashriqi (277=890), Abu Salik Gurgani (288=900) Even Rudaki's fame had been established, as he died in (330=941 A D) How then Abu Hafṣ can be called the earliest poet of Persia ?

Fourth Tradition —

Ya'qub b Layth's son as the originator of Persian poetry

Real beginnings of Persian poetry in the Islamic period

The old Persian Tazkīrah's have failed to prove the existence of the first or the earliest or the oldest poet. It is Arabic history that has come to our aid to reveal facts. We now, through the labours of two great Persian scholars, stand on a firm ground, and are able to produce the earliest or the oldest extant specimens of Persian poetry.

(1) The Satirical utterances of the poet Yazīd b. Mufarragh and the arch reference to Sumayyah the mother of Ziyād b. Abīh falls in the Caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu'awīyah 60-64 A.H. = 679-683 A.D.

آست ندید است عصاراب رنب است سهند رو سپید است

(تصدیف)

(2) The ballad of the children of Khurasan in derision of Asad b. 'Abdullah al-Qusarī al-Khuttalānī after his ignominious defeat at the hands of the Khaqan in the year 108 A.H. = 726 A.D.

ار حلال آمده ، برو تها آمده

آنا ر بار آمده حشک برار آمده

(3) Abu'l-Yanbaghī al-'Abbas b. Tar Khān's lines on the city of Samargand

سمرقند کد مند ، برنت کی الگند

ار سانس نه بهی همی شه نه حمی

From the *Kitābul Wuzara* of al-Jahshiyarī we come to know a few facts about this strange poet. He happened to be one of the courtiers of the Bermecides Ja'far and Fazl, whose disgrace is a notorious event of the year 187 A.H. = 802 A.D. At any rate this specimen like the previous ones is anterior to Arabian prosody and represents the earliest phases of the transition of which we have spoken a little before.

(4) The real poet of the Saffarī period Muhammad b. Wasif and his verses on Ya'qub as yet were so little known, that the beginnings of Persian poetry were shrouded in mystery. He is, according to the *Tarikh-i-Sistan*, the first Persian poet who successfully wrote verses

Vedic Section.

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VEDIC INTERPRETATION AND TRADITION

VIDHUŚEKHARA SĀSTRĪ,
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॥ त्री ॥

॥ नमो वेदविदे च वेदान्तकृते च ॥

॥ नम परमर्षिभ्यो वेदविद्याप्रवर्तकेभ्य ॥

॥ नम श्रीवृजनेभ्यश्च सुहृज्जनेभ्यश्च ॥

DEAR FRIENDS,

I am really thankful to you for the great honour you have done me by kindly asking me to preside over the present session of this section of our Oriental Conference. But let all honour be His who is the Knower of the Veda (*Vedavid*) and the Author of the Conclusion of the Veda (*Vedāntakṛt*). I stand before you certainly not as a teacher, but rather as a pupil and as a fellow-student, for I do not pretend to guide you, but rather I wish to be guided by you. Nor have I come here with the intention of solving some difficult problems, or removing some of the doubts which you may have, or of putting before you any great thoughts or results of new researches that might have been made by me, but I stand before you in all humility to place for your consideration some of what appear to me to be the fundamental problems in the interpretation of the Veda. I approach these problems with special reference to those who hold the Veda as an inspired and a sacred heritage, and find it a great source of peace and happiness in their lives.

Let me begin with a short apologue which has been handed down by the Rishis

विद्या ऽ वै ब्राह्मणमाजगाम ।

गोपाय सा श्रेयश्चित्तेऽहमस्मि ॥

—*Samhitopaniṣad-Bṛāhmaṇa* 3

‘Verily Vidyā (the Vedic Lore) approached the Brahman thus “Protect me, I am your treasure”’

The Brahman realized it, and undertook to protect her. He was also duty-bound to do so, for he knew the old injunction ‘When a man is born, he is born with a debt (to pay)—a debt to the Gods, a debt to the Rishis, and to the Fathers, and to Mankind

thousand years ago, and though they have MSS, and though they now have a printed text, they do not learn their sacred lore from them. They learn it, as their ancestors learnt it, thousands of years ago, from the mouth of a teacher, so that the Vedic succession should never be broken. The oral teaching and learning became in the eyes of the Brahmans one of the 'Great Sacrifices'. I have had visits from natives who knew large portions of the Veda by heart, I have been in correspondence with others who, when they were twelve or fifteen years old, could repeat the whole of it¹. They learn a few lines every day, repeat them for hours, so that the whole house resounds with the noise and they thus strengthen their memory to that degree, that when their apprenticeship is finished, you can open them like a book, and find any passage you like, any word, any accent. One native scholar, Shankar Pandurang, is at the present moment collecting various readings for my edition of the Rig-Veda, not from MSS, but from the oral tradition of the Vedic Srotriyas. He writes on the 2nd March, 1877 'I am collecting a few of our walking Rig-Veda MSS, taking your text as the basis. I find a good many differences which I shall soon be able to examine more closely, when I may be able to say whether they are various readings or not. As I write a Vedic scholar is going over your Rig-Veda text. He has his own MS on one side, but does not open it, except occasionally. He knows the whole Samhitā and Pada text by heart. I wish I could send you his photograph, how he is squatting in my tent with his Upavīta (the Sacred Cord) round his shoulder, and only a Dhoti round his middle, not a bad specimen of our old Rishis'.

"And though it may have sounded to some of you like a fairy-tale, believe me, it is truer in all its details than many a chapter of contemporary history."

This story depicts the condition of the Vedic studies by the Brahman fifty years back, and I can tell you that even at the present time you will find, mostly in the South, such half-naked Brahmans (their race—a race of giants—is, alas, declining every day), repeating the sacred hymns handed down to them from generation to generation and saying those prayers which were first uttered

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1878, p. 40. 'There are thousands of Brahmans', the editor remarks, 'who know the whole of the Rig Veda by heart and can repeat it.'

It is to be noted that the word *nirrti* in the fourth line of the stanza has two meanings, 'calamity' and 'earth'. Now, what does the *mantra* mean? The opinion is divided. Some say, it implies that one having a number of children falls into calamity, while others are of opinion that it refers to the phenomenon of rain (*varsalarman*). The former are the Parivrājakas or wandering religious mendicants while the latter are the Nairuktas or Scholasts. And both the views are mentioned by Yāska in his *Nirukta* II 8.

Here is another mystic *mantra* from the Rig-Veda, IV 58 3

चत्वारि शृङ्गा त्रयो अस्त्र पादा
 द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तास्तु अस्त्र ।
 त्रिधा बद्धो दृग्भो ररवीति
 सहा देवी मर्त्यं आ विवेश ॥

'Four are his horns, three are his feet his heads are two, and his hands are seven. Bound with a triple bond, the strong one (or the showerer of bounties) roars loudly the great god enters into mortals' ¹

Who is that great god? Some say, according to the *Nirukta-parisista*, XIII 7 he is *yajña*. The four horns are with reference to it four Vedas the three feet are the three *sahas* or pressing out of *soma*-juice at the three periods of the day, the two heads are the two libations, introductory and concluding the seven hands are the seven metres, 'bound with a triple bond' refers to three-fold scripture, *Mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa*, and *Kalpa*.

Others say, the great god is the sun the four horns are the four directions or cardinal points (*dis*), three feet are the three Vedas (as, according to the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, III 12 9 1 the movement of the sun is connected with the three Vedas *Vedair asūnyas tribhir eti sūryah*), the two heads are the day and night the seven hands are the seven rays of the sun, 'bound with a triple bond' refers either to the three regions (terrestrial, atmospheric, and celestial), or to the three seasons (hot, rainy, and winter).

I want to refer you to one more explanation of the above passage which the great Patañjali, the commentator of Pāṇini (1 1 1) gives. He explains it with reference to speech (*śabda*) from the point of view of the grammarians. He says that the great god is

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विधा बद्धो दृग्भो ररवीति

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There is no reason to think that the interpretations offered by them are always without authority. For instance, the identity of the Asvins with heaven and earth referred to above is actually found in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV 1 5 16, and it may be noted that the derivation of the word *Asvin* as given by Yāska is also fully supported by the same passage of that work.

Many interpretations, whether right or wrong, reasonable or fanciful, which are found in the *Nirukta*, are based on some passage or passages in a *Brāhmaṇa*. For instance, one may be referred to the derivation of the word *Vṛtra* (*Nirukta*, II 17). It is also to be noted that in *Brāhmaṇas* too, the same diverse explanations also occur.

All the above explanations, in their bewildering diversity, are traditional ones. But here arises a question. Are all of them without exception true explanations, simply because they are traditional? The true explanation that is intended by the author or the Rishi himself can only be one. The doctrine of Bādarāyana's *Brahmasūtras* can only be one, and this may be either *dvaita*, or *advaita*, or *viśiṣṭādvaita*, or *dvaitādvaita*, or something else, but in no case it can be equally *all* of them. One may, however, try to find out a conclusion that may somehow or other reconcile all the different views. But can one say that this reconciliation, or *samanvaya*, was intended by Bādarāyana himself? It may or may not be so, but there is no way to find it out. All that can be said with certainty in this connection is that this attempt or reconciling the conflicting schools is the aim more of the scholars who are for this reconciliation than of Bādarāyana himself. But we are not concerned with it, we want to know what the original author himself actually intended to say. But is it possible to do so under the circumstances described above? It is exceedingly unlikely that that can be done, but nevertheless, we should try to get as near to the truth as possible.

Here the *Nairuktas* offer us something to go by. Having explained one of the stanzas of that mystic hymn, the *Asyavāmīya Sūta*, already referred to (RV, I 164-39), in three different ways, viz. with reference to *devatā*, to *yajña*, and to *ātman*, the author of the *Supplement to Nirukta* (XIII 11) observes

अथ सन्त्रार्थाभ्यूहोऽभ्यूहोऽपि नृत्तितोऽपि तर्कतः ।

'This deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition as well as reasoning'

न तु श्रुत्येकेन सन्दा निर्वक्तव्या । प्रकरणश्च एव निर्वक्तव्या ।

science of language, metrics, astronomy, and ritual), have been already acquired

The above method will meet with the fullest approval of the modern 'scientific' investigator, who has practically nothing more to add, excepting a study of the culture of the age from a historical and comparative standpoint. This includes the findings of Comparative Philology, Anthropology, Archæology, Sociology and other human sciences

The study and research proposed by the six *Vedāṅgas*, for instance, have been worked out in greater detail and with the help of modern appliances by Western scholars, and for this we ought to show our cordial appreciation as fellow-workers in a common field

We have seen how great was the divergency among the teachers with regard to the Vedic interpretations. But this is a fact not exclusively peculiar to the Veda. The case is the same in all times and in all lands, in all the various branches of science. This diversity of explanations makes the original meaning extremely obscure no doubt, but does it not also imply the growth and development of the science through the centuries? Growth and Development are a sign of Life, and the ever growing variety of expositions proposed by the different scholars and traditions indicates that the mind of the Brahman who took upon himself to protect the *Vidyā* has remained alert and active,—although it may be argued that the *Vidyā* has not been preserved in her original form everywhere, and that her proper form has been overlaid by later additions and possibly decorations. This sort of change is unavoidable, for Change is the law of Life. But although the outward body changes, the inner being remains the same, only we shall have to strive to find it out in its proper form. Moreover, we must remember that great or noteworthy discrepancies occur with regard to a comparatively small number of hymns, while it can safely be asserted that there is complete agreement in most of the other cases. However, the net fact remains that there has been an unbroken series of commentators and exegesisists from Yāska downwards. I may quote here the conclusion which Dr Lakshman Sarup has arrived at (*Indices and Appendices to Nirukta*, Intro, pp 75-76) 'It will also show that there have been numerous Pre Sāyana commentators of the Rīg and other Vedas and an unbroken, uniform and continuous tradition of Vedic interpretation has been a common inheritance of the

Where do we get the fullest interpretation of it ? Is it not the same *smṛti*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, which having thoroughly discussed the topic repeats the same truth only in different words (II 71) ?

विहाय कामान् यः सर्वान् पुमाश्चरति निस्पृहः ।

निर्ममो निरद्वङ्गारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥

‘Whoso forsakes all desires and moves about free from yearnings and from the notion of “I am” and “It is mine,” he attains to peace’

Or let us consider again Is it not that the same truth ‘there is only one without the second’ which has found expression in Vedic texts,¹ has again appeared through the Upaniṣad in a much later work, the *Durgā-saptasatī* (included in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*) in the following couplet ?

एकैवाह जगत्पञ्च द्वितीया का समापरा ।

पश्येता दुष्ट मय्येव विशन्ति मद्विभूतयः ॥

‘I am only one in the universe Who is other than me that can be regarded as second ? See, O villain, my manifestations are entering into me’

Here in the *smṛti* we have either a later development or expansion of an idea already expressed in the Veda, or it may be that the *smṛti* passages only enshrine a traditional interpretation of the Vedic passages

This traditional relation between the Vedic and post-Vedic literatures is only too apparent to require any further discussion. The point is that the *Purāṇas*, *Dharmaśāstras*, and other *smṛtis* frequently help us in elucidating the Veda, and as such they are always deserving of respectful attention as repository of tradition, —they should much less be ignored, as is unfortunately the case in certain quarters among Vedic scholars both in India and in Europe. This is just like the later Classical Sanskrit itself, with all its non-Vedic and so called artificial character (which has earned for it the contumely of Veda enthusiasts in Europe), helping a great deal in understanding at least to some extent the general sense of a Vedic text. Just as we acknowledge the common basis of both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, we should be equally alive to the common background of both the Veda and the later literature

¹ For example, ‘There is only one Rudra and no second’—TS, I 8 6 1, ‘The wise say one in various ways’—RV, I 164, 46

terrestrial fire (*pārthiva*), and the word *aṇa* taken to mean 'a goat' signifies here (1) food (*anna*), or seed (*bīja*), or plant (*virudh*)

And here is the second passage (TS, VII 1^o 10 2-3)

ववर प्रावाहपिरकासयत वाच प्रवदिता स्यामिति ।

The plain meaning is that Babara, a descendant of Pravāhana, desired that he might be a speaker of speech. But Sabarasvāmīn (I 1 31) would explain it saying that there is no man known as Pravāhana. Therefore there cannot be his descendant Prāvāhanī. The word is derived from *pra* + $\sqrt{vāh}$ + *i*, the suffix *i* is used to mean both a descendant as well as an agent, thus any eternal object that makes one carry on a work is *Prāvāhanī*. And *Babara* is an onomatopoeic word.

I am speaking of the interpretations, and in this connection it seems to me that if we follow some of the remarks of Yāska, many an unexplained myth or allusion, and many a mystic or obscure or doubtful passage will become perfectly clear. The following occurs in the Rīg-Veda (X 51 9)

तव प्रयाजा अनुयाजाश्च केवल
अर्जसन्तो हविष सन्तु भागा ।
तवाग्ने यज्ञोऽयमस्तु सर्व-
स्तुभ्य नमन्तां प्रदिशद्यतसः ॥

'The introductory and the concluding oblations are entirely thine, let the juicy portions of the offerings be thine. Let this whole sacrifice be thine, O Agni, and let the four quarters bow before thee.'

Here it is quite clear that the introductory and concluding oblations belong to the deity, Agni. There can in no way be any doubt of it. Yet, there are not less than six passages in different Brāhmanas referring to the above verse, of which only one says that the deity here is Agni, while according to the rest the deity concerned is *Chandas* (metre) or *rtu* (season) or *pasu* (cattle) or *prāṇa* (breath) or *ātman* (soul). But why is there such wide difference? Is it due to the ignorance of the authors of the Brāhmanas? Yāska finds here a solution. And this solution proposed by him involves a fundamental principle in approaching Vedic passages of a similar character. He is quite right when he observes (VII 24)

वज्रभक्तिवादीनि ब्राह्मणानि भवन्ति ।

इन्द्र मित्र वरुणमग्निमाङ्ग-
 रथो दिव्य स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।
 एक सद्भिर्वा वज्रधा वदन्
 त्वग्नि यम मातरिश्वा नमाङ्ग ॥

‘ They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, and Agni , and he is divine Garutmat with beautiful wings The sages speak of that which is one in various ways they call it Agni, Yama, and Mātariśvan ’

And similar statements in the same Veda are not wanting For instance, we read (X 114 5)

सुपर्ण विप्रा कवयो वचोभि-
 रेक सन्त वज्रधा कल्पयन्ति ।

‘ The wise poets describe by their words in various ways the bird (Suparna) who is one ’

Yāska taking his stand on such ideas of the Rishis observes (VII 4) ‘ on account of the supereminence of the deity (*māhābhāgyād devatāyāh*) a single soul (*eka ātmā*) is praised in various ways (*bahudhā stūyate*) ’

This view has been given expression in the Upaniṣads and other religious literature of the country Thus there is no inconsistency with the Brāhmana saying to the effect that Agni is all the deities (KB, XXV I 9 , AB , V 16), although, in fact, there is a great number of deities mentioned in the Mantras and the Brāhmanas

Passages like the above are clear indications of the fundamentally monistic character of the Vedic religion Whenever we have the temptation of laying too much stress on the ‘ polytheism ’ of the Veda, we ought to think of the above and similar passages in the Brāhmanas and in Yāska and other old commentators

I want to refer you to one more remark of Yāska In the Rig-Veda (I 89 10) we have the following verse —

अदितिर्द्यौरदितिरन्नरिच-
 मदितिर्माता स पिता स पुत्र ।
 विश्वे देवा अदिति पञ्च जना
 अदितिर्जातमदितिर्जनितम् ॥

‘ Aditi is heaven, Aditi is atmosphere, Aditi is the mother, she is the father, and she is the son Aditi is all deities, Aditi five-classed men, Aditi all that hath been born, and Aditi all that shall be born ’

argument advanced in support of it lies in the word *śisna deva* used twice in the Rīg-Veda (VII 21 5, X 10 99) The traditional meaning of it is 'lustful', both Yāska and Sāyana explaining it by *abrahmacarya* There is no ground whatsoever to reject it The word *deva* is used here in the figurative sense, it signifying 'like a deva' And it is supported by a number of words compounded with *deva* as the last member The following four words are well-known *mātr-deva*, *pitr-deva*, *ācārya deva*, and *atithi-deva* Will it be reasonable to hold that a father-worshipper, and a mother-worshipper, a teacher-worshipper, and a guest-worshipper are meant here respectively? The word *pitr-deva* simply means 'a person to whom the father is just like a deva' Accordingly, the sentence in the *Taittirīya Up*, I II, *pitr-devo bhava* implies that the father is to be revered just like a god The remaining words, too, are to be explained in the same way And this view is taken by the great Sankarācārya saying with regard to them *devatāvad upāsya etā ity arthah* 'the meaning is, that they should be revered as gods' Let us take another word of the same class, *śraddhā-deva* found in the *Taittirīya-Samhitā* and in different Brāhmanas What does it mean? The authors of the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* tell us, *Gott-vertrauend* 'trusting in god' It can hardly be accepted, for the compound cannot be made after the manner of *bharad-īāja*, as in such cases the first member is a present participle Nor can I understand how Eggeling takes it (SB, I 1 4 5) to mean 'god-fearing' The commentators generally explain it by *śraddhāvat* 'believing' or *śraddhālu* 'disposed to believe' The actual meaning is, however, shown by Sāyana in his commentary on the TS, 7 1 8 2, when he says *śraddhā devo yasyāsau śraddhādevah* 'one whose *deva* (god) is *śraddhā* (trustfulness) is *śraddhā deva*' And then he adds *yathā devatāyām ādaras tathā śraddhāyām ity arthah* 'as towards god, so is the respect towards trustfulness'

This interpretation then decides the case of *śisna deva* implying a person who reveres his *śisna* just like a god, or a man of lustful character, *abrahmacarya*, as Yāska would explain it

The word in this sense may sound strange to a non-Indian reader, but Indians themselves are quite familiar with such expressions from the later Sanskrit literature For instance, *śisnodara-parāyana*, which is the same as *śisnodara-trp*, or *śisnodarambhara*, all meaning nothing but 'one addicted to lust and gluttony' Mark

'likeness', and thus the word means 'as a dog' ('wie ein Hund')! I suggest that *asvā* here is only the instrumental singular of *aśva*

Following the obviously literal sense, ignoring tradition which indicates the special meaning a word or expression comes to have, is equally dangerous. For instance, Rahder, who knows not only Sanskrit, but also Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian, would translate (in the Introduction to his edition of the *Dasabhūmilasūtra*, in the *Acta Orientalia*, Vol IV, p 218) the well-known Buddhist word *brahma-vihāra* (which means the 'sublime state of mind' arising from meditation on *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā*), as the *Brahmā-hall* (!), taking the expression literally

But we must not be blind to the purely philological method for the real meaning of an expression, it is quite possible, is lost and another one takes its place. Without accepting as final, I may in this connection refer to the very plausible explanation by Dr L D Barnett in his translation of the *Bhagavad gītā* of the two well-known words *hrsīlesa* and *gudālesa* as respectively 'having upstanding hair', and 'having knotted hair'. The word *hrsīla* in the sense of *indriya* occurs in Sanskrit, but it is a rare word, and I have not found *gudālā* to mean *nidrā* anywhere excepting in lexicons. Dr Barnett's suggestions are deserving of full consideration.

The conventional or accepted sense is more important than what the original root or composition would imply when the word has been long in use (*rūdhir yogād balīyasī*). While derivation gives us the original idea behind a word, the conventional sense is the one which has grown up, and is the sense in which it is employed. The word *nadī* or *dhunī* (from *dhvani*), when first applied to a river, indicated the idea of its being 'noisy' (*nadī nadanāt*). But it does not follow from this that while we employ the above words we must be necessarily thinking of the root sense, 'the noisy one'. To insist upon the root sense when the word has been accepted in a general way would be improper. Whether originally it was *agra + nī* or *agri*, or *aj* (*ag*) + *ni*, or whether it has any connection with Latin *ignis*, Lithuanian *ugnis*, Slav *ognj*, it does not matter, for we all know that the word *agni* in Sanskrit means 'fire'. More than ninety per cent of the students in our Colleges and Sanskrit Pāthasālās, if asked, would answer that *pasyati* is from the root *drs*, though this derivation is not the fact (philologically, the form *pas* is only an abridged form of *spas*). Yet they perfectly know what the word

in It may be suggested that every student of our Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās should read Vedic Sanskrit to a certain standard—and this must be a high one—as a compulsory subject for his passing a Title Examination. The course should comprise in addition to the texts a good account of Vedic literature, the Nirukta, a grammar written scientifically, and a book on Sanskrit philology. Besides, some acquaintance with the sister literature of the Avesta may be introduced.

Avesta is not a difficult language to one who knows Sanskrit specially Vedic Sanskrit. The agreement between Sanskrit and Avesta may be compared with that between Sanskrit and Prakrit. As regards meanings, they help each other. In this connection with your permission I may mention an experience of mine. I was thinking that the names for year are the names for the seasons. For instance, *abda* literally 'one that gives water', i.e. 'rainy season', *varsā* (which is the same as *varsā*) = 'rain', 'rainy season', *sarad* = 'autumn' (*saradaḥ satam*), *hima* 'winter season' (*satam himāḥ*), —all these are the names for the year. But what is the word that originally meant 'hot or summer season', and was employed to denote a year? There must be such a word, for the summer season is very acutely felt in this country. I was then turning over a page of an Avestic work, and came across a word *hama* which means 'summer'. Now *hama* of Avesta, according to phonology, is nothing but *sama* (feminine *samā*) in Sanskrit. And it at once struck me reminding that the word I was seeking after is *samā* (*jyūṣiṣec chatam samāḥ*). It is from the root *sam*. Cf. English *Summer*, German *Sommer*, etc.

I am, however, glad to tell you that our scholars are not remaining idle. Since last we met at Lahore, three important Vedic publications have come out. It was in the first session of our Oriental Conference held in Poona that as many as three MSS. of unpublished commentaries on the R̥g-Veda, lent by the Government MSS. Library, Madras, were exhibited, one of them being that of Skandavāmin, and another of Venkaṭa Mādhava. It is now gratifying to see that the first part of these two as edited by Pandit Sāmbaśiva Sāstrī has been placed in our hands by the authorities of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*. The second work has been given to us by Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit V. Venkatarama Sharma Vidyabhushana. It is an important commentary on the *Taittirīya*

CONTRIBUTION OF BIHAR TO VEDIC CULTURE

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It is ordinarily held by Indologists that Vedic culture in its entirety had its origin in Western India, extending from the Punjab to the Vedic Midland about the Gangā-Yamunā doab, and that the country farther east had no, or very little, hand in it. But a close examination of ancient literature amply demonstrates that Eastern India, especially Bihar, both north and south, Anga, Magadha, Mithilā, made considerable, and very important contributions to the evolution of Vedic culture in India, even in its earliest phases. In fact, it appears on an analysis of the elements contributed by the eastern and western districts of India respectively to Vedic culture, that theology and ritual, the technique of Vedic worship, were elaborated in the west, while the essential truths of religion, its central philosophy, found its expression in the east, and especially in what we now call Bihar. The special lines of evolution in the two parts of India led ultimately to different results. In the west, specially in what is known as the Madhya desa, the Vedic Midland, was springing up in the later Vedic Age when the Kalpa-Sūtras were composed, a narrow sacerdotalism, a meticulous bigotry, which in its over-scrupulous zeal in minute details, of technique, of purity of conduct (ācāra), tried to shut out the rest of the world, including the eastern and western frontier provinces of India itself, from participation in Vedic religion and worship, while in the east grew up a partiality for enquiry into what I have called the essentials of religion, the ultimate truths of life, apart from the chaff of ritual, which made the people of Vanga and Magadha, to secede, in the language of the Aitareya Āranyaka, from the path chalked out in the Vedic Midland, and by and by, to the growth and development of new forms of faith, defiantly challenging the narrow ritualistic creed of the Midland as a means of gaining salvation, and opening their gates wide open to all castes and nations of the earth. Yet, as we shall see, the Vedas were studied in eastern India none the less closely and thoroughly.

Now let us proceed to our particular matter of investigation of the elements contributed by Bihar to Vedic culture

institution of eastern India May not the two passages, Mantra and Brāhmana, read together, suggest an east Indian origin for the hymn containing this verse, especially as another passage three verses earlier in this very hymn speaks of ocean going vessels, 'nāyah samudriyah',¹ the ships that perhaps piled on the Eastern Sea, the 'Pūrta Samudra' which the yellow robed Muni-missionaries of the Rgvedic age knew so well? This wandering Muni, says the Rgveda, clad in yellow robes, 'is the beloved friend of the gods, one and all, for devoted service to every one of them, and 'being urged on by the gods, travels to both the oceans, the Eastern as well as the Western'² The Atharva Veda (xi 5, 6) also speaks of the Brahmacārin, long-bearded, clad in black-antelope skin, wandering to the Eastern Ocean It is absurd to say that 'samudra' in the Rgveda is the sky and not the great expanse of the ocean, this can be supported neither by the context in all the cases, nor by common sense

The Mahābhārata tells us of two very important things contributed by Bihar to Vedic culture, viz the revelation, in southern Bihar, of the Gāvatrī, the very backbone of Vedic worship as it has come down to our times from the hoary past, and the compilation of the Sukla or purified Yajurveda in the northern half of the province, by Yājñavalkya of Mithilā The Udyoga-parva (Chapter 108) records that Suparna was narrating to the sage Gālava the special merits of each of the four quarters of India, divided as in the Vedic Samhitās and Brāhmanas, taking his stand, it seems, about Prayāga which was on the partition line Srāvastī-Ayodhyā Prayāga between western and eastern India Among many of the special contributions of eastern India to Vedic culture, Suparna asserts that in the east 'was recited to the chanters of the Vedas the Sāvitrī by Savitā, the Sun-god, and here also were given the Yajus by the Sun' The authorship of Yājñavalkya to the Sukla Yajurveda is too well-known to require much demonstration, it is asserted by the Satapatha Brāhmana itself 'These Sukla (pure) Yajus verses coming from Āditya have been proclaimed by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya'³ That Yājñavalkya belonged to Mithilā appears from other parts of the same Brāhmana Here we may note that the Satapatha is the only Brāhmana work mentioned by name in the Mahābhārata which

¹ RV, i 25, 7² RV, x 136³ Br Up, 6 4, 23

prayer to Indra. He says in this verse, 'What do the cows for thee, amongst the Kikatas, (O Indra)?' They yield no milk for mixing with Soma, they make no Gharma-drink hot. Do bring us the property of Pramaganda, subject to us Naicāsākha, O thou rich in gifts'.¹ Sāyana, in his *Upodghāta*, i.e. the general introduction to his commentary, affirms that Kikata is the name of a country, Pramaganda is the name of the king and Naicāsākha, the name of a city. Kikata is certainly Bihar with which Indian tradition persistently identifies it. The *Vāyu*² and *Garuda-Purānas*³ place the sacred city of Gaya in the Kikatas (Kikateshu Gayā punyā), and the *Bhāgavata Purāna* (Ch. III) says that the Buddha would be born in the Kikatas, so that the Kikatas appear to include the whole of the country from south Bihar to the Sākya kingdom up in the Himalayas. The later lexicographers like Hemachandra (iv 26) and the author of the *Trikāṇḍśeṣa* (II 11) identify Kikata with Magadha. The names of their king and capital city tend to show that the Kikatas were an Aryan people, but from what Viśvāmitra says of them it appears that they did not perform their worship or religious observances quite in accordance with the prescriptions of the school to which Viśvāmitra belonged, we know from the *Rgveda* itself that many of the Aryan tribes did not offer sacrifices. The ten kings of the Druhyus, Anus, Śivas, Viśānins and others who fought against Sudās at the great war of the ten kings related in the *Rgveda*, are said to have been non-sacrificing, *ayajyavah*.⁴ The Kikatas also seem to have been non-sacrificing like those kings, and we have every reason to think with Weber,⁵ that the Kikatas were an Aryan people living in Magadha, speaking an Aryan language and belonging to an Aryan stock, but performing their religious observances with rites differing from those of the orthodox schools. There is no reason to think that they were non-Aryans, as Yāska would appear to suggest.

Indian tradition as recorded in Śaunaka's *Bṛihaddevatā*⁶ and Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramanī*,⁷ establishes a connection of this hymn with the great rival of Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha and also his family against whom it forms the most severe imprecation, so that no

¹ RV, III 53 14

³ *Garuda Purāna*, Ch. 83

⁵ *Indische Studien*, I p. 186

⁶ Br., IV 115-120

² *Vāyu Purāna*, 105 23

⁴ RV, VII 83 7 RV, VII 18 7 14

⁷ Ed. Macdonell, p. 16

of hymns to the Rgveda. With reference to an obscure hymn contributed by Dirghatamas to the Rgveda (I 158), Saunaka in his *Bṛihaddevatā* (iv 21-24) shows how the hymn refers to events in the seer's own life, and without a knowledge of these facts the hymn would be unintelligible. Kātyāyana in his *Sarvānukramanī*¹ refers to it in his own cryptic way. Dirghatamas, in the story told by Śaunaka and amplified by Sadguruśiṣya in his *Vedārthadīpikā*,² was rescued from a watery grave in the waters of the Ganges by the king of Anga who honoured him and gave him a habitation and a home. The Rsi took to wife a Śūdra woman, Uśij by name, and on her he begot Kaksivān Auśija, a seer well-known in the Rgveda³ as the author of a number of hymns. The *Vanaparva* (Ch 21 and 84) of the *Mahābhārata* places the residence of this great seer at Rājagṛha, the Magadha capital, where he had evidently settled. Ghosā, the daughter of Kaksivān, appears from her own statements made in hymns contributed by herself to the Rgveda (X 39-40), to have remained unmarried to a pretty advanced age owing to some physical defect, and then by the favour of the gods found, rather late in life, a husband and a home.

Other sons are said to have been begotten by Dirghatamas according to the *Mahābhārata* (I 104) and the *Purāṇas*, for the childless king of Anga, and these partitioned their father's extensive empire among themselves, giving their names to the provinces they ruled—Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra, and Suhma (*Mbt*, I, 104). Evidently in this legend is preserved a tradition of historical value, showing that in Vedic times the Anga empire included Bengal and Orissa in its domain, and such 'sāmrajyas' were common in Eastern India, we are told by the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

If we take the story narrated by Saunaka and the *Mahābhārata* as correct, then the number of hymns of the Rgveda composed in the province of Bihar becomes considerable, and there is no reason why we should not believe the tradition recorded by them. Anga and Magadha were certainly very well-known to the *Atharva-veda*, a hymn (V 22, 14) in which sends *Takman* or fever to these countries, apparently referring to the malarial swamps of the lower Ganges. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (II 9) also speaks of the peoples of Anga and Magadha (*Anga-Magadhāh*).

¹ *Anec Oxoniensis*, I, Ch iv p 9² *Ibid*, p 93³ RV, i 18 1

the development of Vedic culture in India, the last passage referred to here (RV, I 53, 7) says that Nami was the friend and associate of Indra in quelling the Asura Namuci and the first (RV, VI 20, 6) says that in the fight with Namuci Indra protected Nami Sāpya

All that we have said above will be sufficient, I hope, to show that Bihar, including in its area the three ancient countries of Anga, Magadha, and Videha, had made no mean contribution to the growth and development of Vedic culture in India, at least, I trust, my remarks will suggest a fruitful line of investigation for unravelling the history of the origin and development of Indian culture, by a study of the Vedas in the light thrown upon many an obscure passage by the Epics and the Purānas. In this way only can the Vedas be properly studied, as the ancient sage Vasistha insists in his Dharmasūtra (XXVIII 6) that the Veda is to be fully amplified with the help of Itihāsa and Purāna, for, says the same Vedic law-giver, when a man of little learning takes up the Veda for study, the Veda fears that he will mutilate it

Itihāsa-purānābhyam Vedam samupabramhayet |
Bibhetyalpaśrutād-vedo māmayaṃ praharṣyatī ||

STUDIES IN THE ACCENTUATION OF THE SĀMA VEDA

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The text of the Sāma Veda has a peculiar system of accentuation. This system is so complicated and offers so much food for reflection that it requires a close investigation.

I The three accents and their symbols

The three accents are thus marked in the Sāma and the Rgvedas respectively —

Accent	Sāma Veda	Rgveda
Udātta	१	unmarked
Anudātta	ॐ	—(below the syllable)
Svarita	२	(over the syllable)

The following verse, which occurs both in the Sāma and the Rgvedas, will illustrate the above symbols —

(1) Sāma Veda (Benfey's Edition)

(I 1 1 2 1) —

१ २ ॐ १ २ २ १ २ २ १ २
नमस्ते अग्र ओजसे गृणन्ति देव हृदय ।

१ २ १ २
अमेरमित्र मर्दय ॥

(2) Rgveda The same verse is thus accentuated in the Rgveda (VIII 75 25) —

नमस्ते अग्र ओजसे गृणन्ति देव हृदय ।
अमेरमित्र मर्दय ॥

The Psychology of this symbology is obscure. Why was the lowest number '१' assigned to the highest tone?

We may, however, hypothetically assume that the number '१' represented the 'first grade' (i.e. the highest) tone and thus roughly corresponded to its Rgvedic parallel, which was not marked at all.

II Extension of the Svarita symbol in the Sāma Veda

Now a striking peculiarity of the accentuation of the Sāma Veda is the wide extension of the Svarita symbol '२' even in those

The Sāma Veda, then, maintains the Udātta accent in वयम् and अयम् when they are in the beginning of a sentence, but substitutes the Svarita for the Udātta accent when these words are before a *virāma*

(c) Another striking feature which will be immediately noticed from the above examples in the Sāma Veda (viz वयम् and अयम् before a *virāma*) is the appearance of the Svarita symbol after the Anudātta—a fact which is not to be observed in the Rgveda, and which runs counter to the observation of Pāṇini (VIII 4 66) that Svarita occurs when an Anudātta immediately follows an Udātta. But here in the Sāma Veda examples we have the Anudātta and not the Udātta preceding the Svarita. Hundreds of similar examples from the Sāma Veda could be quoted, the following may suffice for our purpose —

It is a well-known fact that the Vedic past passive participle is accented at the final syllable, and so we have in the Rgveda participles like चुतम्, हित् accented at the final syllable. But in the Sāma Veda this participle is marked with the Svarita accent before a *virāma*, the above words being there written चुतम्, हित् respectively, as the following examples will show —

Sāma Veda

Rgveda

१ २ ३ १ २ ३ २
उप नो हरिभि चुतम् (I 2 2 1 6) उप नो हरिभि चुतम् (VIII 93 31)
१ २ ३ २
विश्वेषा हित् (I 1 1 1 2) विश्वेषा हित् (VI 16 1)

We see, then, that in the above examples the Svarita accent follows even the Anudātta accent in the Sāma Veda

(d) In the Sāma Veda the Svarita symbol occurs, not only after an Anudātta marked in the same word, but also after an Anudātta occurring in a different word. Thus the monosyllabic words क्षुप्, विट्, and नत् are accented in the Rgveda, and so they are unmarked, but in the Sāma Veda when these words occur at the

end of a sentence, they are written क्षुप्, विट्, and नत् respectively, even after an Anudātta syllable at the end of the preceding word. This seems to indicate that in the Sāma Veda syntactical accentuation so much dominated the accent system that even an independent Udātta occurring in a monosyllabic word was reduced to a Svarita

by the rule noted above, it is not marked. The next two examples are even more striking, for in both of them the finals of *हि प* and *अन्य वत्*, although having Udātta finals, are not marked with the Sāmavedic Udātta symbol '॑', but remain quite unmarked, being treated as Svaritas after the Svarita, possibly parallel to the *ekasruti* pointed out above. Here are, then, two examples of two successive Udāttas being unmarked after a Svarita in the Sāma Veda.

(f) Now, is there any explanation of this treatment, in the Sāma Veda, of the final Udātta before *vrāma*? We have here a case of the reduction of pitch at the end of a sentence. That a normally high pitch (Udātta) should be comparatively lowered to a mid-pitch (Svarita) at the end of a sentence is a phenomenon of not unfrequent occurrence in many languages. That the final Udātta should have been noticed as being lowered to the Svarita is therefore phonetically possible. But the fact that the final Udātta of every sentence should have been reduced to the Svarita seems to be as artificial and arbitrary as the ancient Indian theory that every finite verb after a nominal expression was unaccented. How far this view of the final Udātta in the Sāma Veda actually corresponded to facts is a subject for further investigation.

2 The next case of the extension of the Svarita in the Sāma Veda, as noted above consists in the reduction of that Udātta to Svarita which is followed by a Sannatara Anudātta (Pān, I, 2 40), i.e. an Anudātta which is followed by an Udātta or a Svarita. The very first syllable of the Sāma Veda is a striking example of this phenomenon. For of the following —

Sāma Veda

Rgveda

२ ३ १ २ ३ १ २
अग्र आयाहि वीतये (I 1 1 1 1) अग्र आयाहि वीतये' (VI 16 10)

Here the first syllable of अग्रे in the Sāma Veda has the Svarita accent. How is it? This first syllable is followed by a Sannatara Anudātta अग्रे, for the Anudātta syllable अग्रे is further followed by an Udātta syllable आ, which thus makes the Anudātta अग्रे a Sannatara. Where, however, the second syllable of अग्रे has not the Sannatara Anudātta, there the first Udātta syllable is not changed to Svarita, of the following —

Sāma Veda	Rgveda
४ १ २ ३ पाहि नो अग्ने	पाहि नो ^१ अग्ने
३ १ २ ३ १ २ पाहि चतुर्दभि	पाहि चतुर्दभि ^१
३ २ ३ २ but पाहि गीर्भि	पाहि गीर्भि ^१

In the first two examples, the Udātta syllable हि^१ of पाहि remains unchanged, as it is not followed by a Sannatara Anudātta, the succeeding accent being a pure Anudātta which has become Svarita

In the third example, however, the हि^२ of पाहि is followed by a Sannatara Anudātta (as it is followed by an original Udātta which in the Sāma Veda text has become a Svarita), and thus the originally

Udātta syllable हि^२ has become हि

And now this phenomenon offers us food for reflection. Was it a mere mode of writing or does it take us any further in our knowledge of Vedic accent? The above facts lead us to make the following hypothetical assumptions —

(a) In the Rgveda the Sannatara Anudātta when occurring after an Udātta could not be raised to a Svarita. Why not? The accentuation of the Sāma Veda seems to offer the explanation. The Udātta occurring before the Sannatara Anudātta was, perhaps by a progressive reduction in pitch, lowered to a Svarita, and so in its turn was not strong enough to raise the pitch of the succeeding (Sannatara) Anudātta.

(b) The accentuation of the Sāma Veda was thus a further development, giving us, in further details, the conditions under which the Vedic Udātta failed to raise the pitch of the succeeding syllable.

(c) The Svarita accent was not a mere convention, but a real phenomenon in the language, for even the Udātta was noticed to have been reduced to the Svarita under two main conditions, viz before a *virāma*, and before a Sannatara Anudātta.

3 If two or more Udāttas precede a Sannatara Anudātta, the first of these Udāttas is marked with the symbol '२३', the symbol '२' presumably denoting the Svarita accent, and '३' implying that the original accent was Udātta.

successively occur, but it is difficult to conjecture the significance of '२२' May it be supposed that the pitch of the Svarita occurring after two or more Udāttas was raised, and so a symbol, indicating more than an ordinary Svarita, had to be used ?

The following examples illustrate this phenomenon —

(a) Svarita preceded by two Udāttas and arising from an Anudātta which is followed by three Anudāttas

Sāma Veda

Rgveda

१ २२ ३ १ २
नि होता सत्वि वृद्धिपि (I 1 1 1 1) नि होता सत्वि वृद्धिपि (VI 16 10)

Here the Svarita ता occurs after two Udāttas नि and हो and is marked with the symbol '२२', while only the first of the Udāttas is marked The ता is originally Anudātta, followed by three Anudāttas

(b) Svarita preceded by three Udāttas and arising from an Anudātta followed by a Sannatara

Sāma Veda

Rgveda

१ २२३ १ २
निर्गा अहन्तदोजसा (I 6 2 4 8) निर्गा अहन्तदोजसा (IX 108 6)

Here the Svarita हन् occurs after three Udāttas निर्, गा, and आ, and is marked with the symbol '२२', while only the first of the Udāttas is marked

The Anudātta syllable हन् is here followed by the Sannatara त

This case should be clearly distinguished from the one mentioned under I (3)

In the case before us the Udāttas precede a *non-Sannatara* Anudātta, and the first of the Udāttas is marked with the usual symbol '१', while the Anudātta in question becomes a Svarita with a peculiar symbol '२२' But in I (3) the Udāttas precede a Sannatara Anudātta and are themselves reduced to Svaritas

III Accentuation of the 'Ksaipra' Svarita

Accentuation of the 'Ksaipra' Svarita may be classed under the following heads —

- (1) That which is followed by an Anudātta or *virāma*
- (2) That which is followed by an Udātta

1 A 'Ksaipra' Svarita followed by an Anudātta or *virāma* is marked with the symbol '२२', while the preceding Anudātta is marked '२क' The following examples will illustrate this —

Sāma Veda

Rgveda

इक २२

देवे॑तु (I 1 2 1 2)

देवे॑तु (I 40 3)

Here the original दे॒वी + ए॒तु is followed by the Anudātta and न so III (1) will be applied

(b) Kṣaipra with an original long vowel

Sāma Veda

Rgveda

१ २ ३ २ १ २ १ २

मा न इ॒द्राभ्या॑द्दि॒श॒ स्वर॑

(I 2 1 4 4)

मा न इ॒द्राभ्या॑द्दि॒श॒ स्वर॑

(VIII 92 31)

Here note that in the original अ॒भि + आ॒दि॒श one of the vowels, viz आ, is long, while the accent of the syllable द which succeeds the Kṣaipra Sandhi is Udātta. Both these conditions bring about the peculiar Rgvedic accentuation in इ॒द्राभ्या॑द्दि॒श where, in contrast with the previous case (a), the Anudātta mark '˘' is also put under भ्या, a sign which does not occur in the Kṣaipra mentioned under (a). Cf Rgvedic पा॒द्म॒ इ॒त

Conclusion

The above study gives us the following points —

(1) It is an empirical systematisation of facts hitherto confusing and complicated

(2) Although the fact was observed by Pāṇini (VIII 4 67) that a Sannatara Anudātta after an Udātta could not be raised to a Svarita, the actual reduction of this Udātta to a Svarita in the Sāma Veda indicates the system to be a development on that of the Rgveda and presumably embodies the explanation for the parallel treatment in the Rgveda

(3) The treatment of the Udātta before a *virāma* and a Sannatara indicates that both the Svarita and the Sannatara accents were a reality in the language

(4) This study definitely gives us the following lines for further investigation —

(a) The psychological significance of symbols like 'इक', '२२', etc

(b) The varied treatment of the Kṣaipra Svarita in the Sāma and the Rgvedas

(c) The exact shades of pitch in the Sannatara and the preceding Udātta

॥ श्री ॥

THE CRADLE OF THE INDRA-VRTRA MYTH

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आराध्य सप्तसिन्धूना	सरणे कारण हरिम् ।
यदेशे रूपकन्तेतत्	प्रागुत्पन्न विचारये ॥
देशोऽसौ वस्कशप्रान्त	रशियाभुवि मध्यत ।
“मेमिरेशिन्सग” इति ख्यात	स “सप्तसिन्धु” अर्थत ॥

In my paper ‘*India in the Rgveda and the Avesta and Before*’, presented to the Fourth All-India Oriental Conference, I have said that the character of the Rgvedic Indra is very complex (*Proceedings*, pp 11 ff) I have there tried to show that the most original trait of Indra that we can think of on the basis of the available evidence is that of a national God Several problems about Indra have yet remained unsolved I have not there called into question the correctness of Indra’s connexion with the phenomenon of raining as given by tradition and generally accepted by scholars But some Western scholars still hold that Indra had no connexion with rains in the Rgvedic period I believe that there is ample evidence in the *Rgveda Samhitā* for this connexion Without entering into a discussion of this question, which I reserve for a later occasion, I wish to discuss here a certain problem in the Indra-Vrtra myth, which presupposes Indra’s having something to do with rains even in the Rgvedic period

The myth of Indra’s annual fight with the demon who keeps away rain waters, variously named as Śambara, Ahi, Suśna, etc , or more usually Vrtra, is briefly this The ‘Enemy’ (as the word *vrtra* means, *vide* pp 14-16) steals away the cows (=waters) and keeps them concealed in the cave Vala (=vara, an enclosure, from √ir ‘to surround’) Indra attacks him with the Maruts (the storm gods) and other helpers, chases him from rock to rock (i.e. cloud to cloud), finds him at last, and kills him The covering stone of Vala is also shattered and the waters are released and with eagerness they go the way of the Ocean

The rivers must be earthly rivers. Otherwise the land of the Indo-Aryans could hardly have been called in the *Rgveda Samhitā* (VIII, 24-27) *Sapta Sindhusu* and in the Avesta (Vend I, 19) *hapta hindu*. Sāyana's *Gangādīyāḥ sapta nadyah* does not deserve any better consideration, for the group, Gangā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī, belongs to a time long posterior to the *Rgveda Samhitā*, when Aryan civilization had spread all over India. That *sapta* can mean *sarpanasīlāḥ*, as Sāyana also suggests, cannot be believed for a moment. The European efforts at fixing the rivers have not succeeded either.³ One cannot see why they should be the Indus, the five well-known tributaries of the Indus that have given the Punjab its name and the Sarasvatī or the Oxus. This fixation seems extremely arbitrary. The poets of the Rgvedic hymns know of many more streams, like the Gomatī, the Yamunā and the Sarayū, mentioned several times, which should hardly have been omitted from the enumeration. Zimmer's view, which the authors of the *Vedic Index* accept, that there is no particular significance in the number is no better. If the number five in *Pañca Janāḥ* is significant, one wonders why it should not be so in *Sapta Sindhavah*. So instead of cutting the Gordian knot in the way Zimmer has done, we should hold 'seven' to be a traditional number, coming from a place where the Aryans lived earlier and where there were seven and only seven rivers. The number would cling to popular memory long after the original home was forgotten and remain fixed in popular or at least hieratic expression. In several districts of Bengal the adjacent river is called Gāṅg (=Gangā), though it is not the Ganges.

H. Brunnhofer in his *Urgeschichte der Arier in Vorder-und Central-Asien*, Vol II, p 22 ff, suggests the name of such a possible earlier home of the Indo-Aryans. It is Semirechinsk in Russian Turkestan, watered by the Il, Lepsa, Karatal, Baskan, Aksu, Sarkan, and Biyen, seven rivers which flow into the Lake Balkash. Brunnhofer has gained a certain notoriety for wild speculations. Consequently this extremely good suggestion of his did not catch the attention of sober scholars. Dr N G Sardesai of Poona made the self-same suggestion, quite independently of Brunnhofer, in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp 93-96, and his writing must have attracted the notice of at least Indian scholars.

³ See *Vedic Index*, Vol II, p 424

characteristics, after separating from the other Indo-European peoples. If the original home of the Indo-Europeans was in Siberia, as De Morgan⁸ would have us believe, Semirechinsk would be on the way to India and Iran.

Strangely enough this province also satisfies the various data philologists have posited for the Indo-European Urheimat. But I do not yet dare to rush to the conclusion that that Paradise is to be 'regained' here. Peter Giles' words of caution in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th Edition, Vol. 14, pp. 498-500) should be borne in mind though he himself forgot them later.⁹ Let that Urheimat yet remain undetermined.

⁸ *La Préhistoire Orientale*, Vol. III, see also Jarl Charpentier in *B S O S* IV, 170

⁹ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Ch. 3

THE VALABHI SCHOOL OF VEDABHĀSYAKĀRAS

(Summary)

PROF C KUNHAN RAJA, M A , D PHIL (Oxon),
University of Madras

I A distinct style and method that justify the appellation , the following can be included in the school Skanda, Nārāyana, Udgītha, Maheśvara, Mādhava, Harisvāmin, and two works called Vārarucanīruktasamuccaya and Āsvalāyanagrhyamantrabhāṣya , a reference that Bhaṭṭabhāskara also belongs to this school

II Skanda , two recensions , one found in the MSS discovered in Malabar, and another in a MS discovered in Tanjore , the first is more elaborate, but occasionally the second contains matter not found in the first , for the first recension, three MSS , one in Trivandrum for the first seven adhyāyas of the first aṣṭaka (Dr Sarup's description of this MS not correct), another for the first aṣṭaka from the middle of the second adhyāya to the end, in the possession of the present writer and third, a mere fragment in the first aṣṭaka also in the possession of the present writer , first adhyāya according to the Malabar recension published from Trivandrum For the second recension only one MS till now discovered, from Tanjore , complete for the first aṣṭaka , belongs to R. Kṛṣṇaswami Sastri, Esq , Tanjore, now in the possession of the present writer , being published by the present writer

III Nārāyana , no quotation from a nārāyanabhāṣya met with , stated to be a collaborator of Skanda by Venkata Mādhava , MS of a bhāṣya from V, 57 1 to VI, 75 5 available, with portions missing occasionally , MS in Trivandrum, and a portion in the possession of the present writer Colophons say that it is by Skanda , authorship of Nārāyana only a conjecture

IV Udgītha , a quotation from the available portion attributed to Skanda by Devarāja , colophons clearly state that the bhāṣya is by Udgītha , Sāyana quotes a portion and gives the name Udgītha also , three MSS available , one in the possession of the present writer from X 5 to X 20, another in the D A V College from X 19 to X 83, and a third also in the possession of the present writer

haps the Sāmaveda Mādhava were his disciples , Nārāyana, Mahesvara, and Udgītha quoted by later writers as from Skanda , so the whole school I style as Valabhī School after the country of the chief of the school

XI Ātmānanda includes Bhaṭṭabhāskara also in this school

THE MĀDHAVA PROBLEM IN THE VEDABHĀŚYA

(Summary)

PROF C KUNHAN RAJA, M A , D PHIL (Oxon),
University of Madras

I The Problem of Sāyana and Mādhava and also the problem of the other Mādhavas , a source of perplexity even to Max Muller.

II Sāyana Mādhava quotes another Mādhava , his work discovered , he is Venkata Mādhava , Devarāja quotes a Mādhava , there must be at least three Mādhavas in the quotations by Devarāja , viz Sāyana Mādhava, Venkata Mādhava, and the Anukramanikāra Mādhava , Venkata Mādhava quoted by Kesava

III The Anukramanikāra Mādhava , quotations in Devarāja , quoted by Vedāntacārya in Sudarsana Mīmāṃsā , doubts regarding the identity of this Vedāntacārya , Anukramanikāra Mādhava's vedabhāṣya , only copy in the Adyar Library , complete for the first aṣṭaka , being printed the opening stanza gives the names of the Anukramanīs he has written, very difficult to reconstruct on account of the condition of the MS , the colophons , the Anukramanīs he refers to in the bhāṣya

IV Mādhava quoted and referred to by Mahidhara , Sāyana himself

V Mādhava the author of the Sāmavedavivarana , referred to by Satyavrata Samasrami , Satyavrata differentiates among three Mādhavas Sāyana, Mādhava quoted by Devarāja and Vivaranakāra , Keith suggests that he may be the same as the Mādhava referred to by Sāyana , MSS available , three in the Sanskrit College at Calcutta, one in Bikaner, one in Visvabharatī, two in Bodleian, and one in Berlin , the opening stanza is the same as that of Kādambarī —rajojuṣe janmani, etc not noticed by anybody who has prepared the catalogues or who has mentioned this Mādhava , belongs to the Valabhī school , date about 600 A D , his father Nārāyana, perhaps the collaborator of Skanda mentioned by Venkata Mādhava

VI Mādhava in his Dhātuvṛtti quotes another Mādhava

VII The two Mādhavas assumed by Dr Sarup , really only one Mādhava , a slight misunderstanding , Mādhava's father was

THE ANUKRAMANĪ LITERATURE

(Summary)

PROF C KUNHAN RAJA, M A , D PHIL (Oxon),
University of Madras

I The importance of the Anukramanīs A very necessary guide in fixing the text throws light on the condition of Vedic exegesis in ancient India

II The Sarvānukramanī of the Vedas For the Rgveda by Kātyāyana, for the Taittirīya Samhitā by Yāska, and for the Vājasaneyi Samhitā by Kātyāyana

III The Commentaries on the Rgveda Sarvānukramanī Commented by Sadguru, published one by Uvata (authorship very doubtful), three manuscripts available, only one complete, another only for the Paribhāṣa, and a third up to the third Mandala, then there are commentaries by Jagannātha, Vāsudeva, Ganeśa, Raghunātha, etc Only the commentaries of Ganesa and Vāsudeva are of much importance, others are merely a list of Rsis, etc, practically no new information

IV Works based on Sarvānukramanī, lists of Rṣi, Devatā, etc Useful only for purposes of checking, no new information

V Sarvānukramanī of the Taittirīya Samhitā, no MS available, but extensive quotations in a work on Sāmaveda, the available quotations, his relation to Yāska of Nirukta and Yāska referred to in Brhaddevatā

VI The Anukramanīs of Venkaṭa Mādhava, scattered in the Rgvedabhāṣya called Rgarthadīpikā, eight subjects dealt with corresponding to the eight aṣṭakas, each with eight sub-headings corresponding to the eight adhyāyas of each aṣṭaka, its relation to Mahābhāṣya, Brhaddevatā, Nirukta, the Brāhmanas

VII The Anukramanīs of Mādhava, quoted as those of Venkaṭa Mādhava by Devarāja, this Mādhava is different from Venkaṭa Mādhava, he too has commented on the Rgveda, both the Mādhavas belong to the same village, this Mādhava is quoted by Vedānta-charya and also in his own Vedabhāṣya, called Rgvedanirukta (only copy available in the Adyar Library)

TAKMAN OF ATHARVAVEDA

PROF EKENDRANATH GHOSH

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Introduction The word *takman* seems to be derived from *tañc*, to contract, and thus may mean what affects the body. There are several hymns in the Atharvaveda against *takman* (I, 25, V, 25, VI, 20, VII, 116 [121]). From the attributes assigned to *takman* in these hymns we are in a position to find out its true nature. We shall discuss them in detail and finally consider the nature of the disease it means.

Characteristics of Takman

(1) *Birth place* The birth-place of *takman* has been mentioned in several passages. In one place (I, 25, 1), we are told that the birth place of *takman* is there, where the *Agni* (fire—celestial fire or heat produced by the sun), entering, burned the water and where the performers of religious duties used to pay homage. We consider this place as a collection of stagnant water used to be heated by the sun and becoming foul by the decomposition of the water plants from excessive heat. In another passage (I, 25, 2), his birth-place is said to seek the place of woods (used for fuels). In a third one (VI, 25, 3), he has been called *vanya*, that is, arising from the forest. We shall show later on that the last two passages refer to it as the *Jungle fever*.

(2) *Original home* We find that *takman* has been connected with several countries, as Gandhārv, Mūjavat (a mountainous country), Anga, and Magadha (V, 22, 14). Again, *takman* has been asked to go back to his original home peopled by the Mahāvṛṣas (V, 22, 4, 5, 8), Mūjavants (V, 22, 5, 6, 8), and Balhikas (V, 22, 5, 9). These passages probably refer to the prevalence of the disease in those countries. The second passage hints at the idea of its original home being in those places from which it spread to other regions.

(3) *Signs and symptoms* (1) *Heat* *Takman* is called heat-weaponed (VI, 20, 1), he is provided with heat (I, 25, 2) he is a producer of heat (I, 25, 4), he heats or consumes (the body) like fire (V, 22, 2), he consumes the whole body (I, 25, 3, VI, 25, 3), he dries up the body (VI, 20, 1). *Takman* has also been called *rura*,

dive away repeatedly), indicating the frequency of attacks (VII 116, 1) (c) We have a passage *pūralāmaṛityane* (VII, 116, 1) referring to *talman* and literally meaning 'former desire-performing' Perhaps it indicates the relapses—the repetitions of the same series of symptoms (d) He has been called mischievous (V, 22 6) and producer of a crippled condition (V, 22 6)

(4) *Complications* In a passage (V, 22, 11) *talman* is found to have been requested not to make *cough valāsa* (œdematous swelling) and *udyuga* (hiccough ?) Again *valāsa* has been called *talman's* brother, cough his sister, and *pāman* (herpes) his cousin brother (V 22, 12)

(5) *Seasonal types* We find mention of three types of *talman* named after the seasons (i) of the summer, (ii) of the rainy season, and (iii) of the autumn (V 22, 13) In this connection we mention the epithet of *talman* as 'Varuna's son' (I 25 3) which perhaps refers to the autumn, as we have reasons to believe that Varuna is closely connected with the autumnal equinox

(6) *Miscellaneous notes* We now consider a number of additional notes related to *talman* (i) *Talman*, *valāsa* and *Ahi* (erysipelas ?) have been called the slaves of the ointment (IV, 9, 8) This probably refers to the prevention or cure by anointing the skin with the ointment (ii) *Talman* has been designated as *śalambharasya mustika* (V, 22, 4) literally meaning 'killer of dung-carrier by fist' The actual significance is far from clear We doubtfully think it to mean that *talman* is killed by (the burning of) dung-cakes (iii) *Talman* has been asked to seek *sūdras* (V, 22, 7), fugitive slave women (V, 22, 6) and toads (VII, 116, 2) These passages probably indicate ill feeling and hatred of the Aryans towards the non-Aryans and also show that the toad was considered an animal without any economic use

(7) *Treatment* As regards treatment we find that *Kustha* (*Costus arabicus*) has been invoked as the killer of *talman* (V 4, 1)

REMARKS We shall now try to find out the true nature of *talman* from the standpoint of modern medicine That it is some form of fever is easily understood when we are told that it produces heat on the body surface and also causes sensation of heat inside the body Considering the other attributes, viz a cold stage after the febrile period profuse perspiration (evidently in the cold stage), presence of rigor and periodicity (quotidian, quartian, tertian, double

TRITA

PROF S V VENKATESWARA

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Trita Āptya is a well-known figure in Vedic literature. The earliest references to him are in the Second mandala of the R V (*trito rbhuksāh*, 31, 6, *tritām jaraya jūratam*, 34, 10, *tritona yān pañcakōtrn abhustaye*, 2, 34, 14). In the Fifth mandala his connection with the waters is emphasised (41, 4 and 41, 10) and in the Sixth mandala there is reference to several Tritas as preserving the nectar of immortality (44, 23—*tritesu vindat amitam nigūtham*). In the First mandala Trita Āptyah is definitely mentioned (105, 9). In the Eighth mandala he is mentioned as Āptya (47, 13) and connected with Dvita (47, 16). Evil dreams are driven away by him (47, 15). In the Ninth mandala he is said to bear Varuna in the ocean (95, 4). In one of the latest texts (R V, I, 105, 17) he is represented as concealed in a well (*lūperahitah*). In the Atharva Veda his connection with dreams is emphasised (A V, XIX, 56, 4). In the Yajur Veda we have his association not only with Dvita but with Ekata also. In the *Yājñikī Upaniṣad* of the Yajur Veda god Savitā is prayed to for protection against the prognostication of evil dreams. It is thus clear that there was some connection between Savitā and Trita, as indicated as early as R V, II, 31, 6—*trito rbhuksāh savitāca no dadhe*.

There is similar association of Trita and the other Āptyas with the killing of Vṛtra in stories in the Yajur Veda Samhitās. Indeed in one of them Viśvarūpa, son of Tvasta, is said to have had three heads through which were taken respectively soma, surā, and food (TS, 2, 5, 1 and 2). The origin of Vṛtra is connected with this story. The *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* (7, 28) mentions Indra's slaughter of Tvastā's son Viśvarūpa and Vṛtra. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1, 2, 3) ascribes to Indra the sin of killing Viśvarūpa and distinctly adds that Ekata, Dvita, and Trita abetted the killing and thereby incurred sin. We now understand the story in the Yajus Samhitās how Indra wiped off his sin of the slaughter of Vṛtra on different agencies one of whom are the Āptyas including Trita. The latter shifted the sin on to those who were yet sleeping at sunrise, and

are mentioned as seven in the Vedic and six in the Avestic. The difference is easily accounted for by the Greek tradition of the seventh sister among the Pleiades concealing herself, i.e. not being visible to the eye. The smiting of the dragon by Trita or Tritona means the emergence of the new year when the sun appeared among the belt of stars ranging from Orion to the Pleiades.

The bearing of the astronomical myths on the chronology of the Vedas and the Avesta may now be examined. The Avesta is later than the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* which mentions the seven stars of the Kṛttikas by name, and probably belongs to the age of the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* (3, 9, 2) which mentions that the six Kṛttikas became dissociated from Arundhatī. The traditions of the Avesta are distinctly later than the *Taittiriya Samhita*, which mentions *nabhauredista* (ep. Avestic *nabha nazdista*) as a teacher of the Āṅgīrasas. The sociological system of the Avesta corresponds to the Yajur and not of the Rg-Veda. The *rathesthas* of the Avesta are not in the Rg-Veda but are found in the *Taittiriya Samhita* (*jisuṁ rathesthāḥ* and *rathubhyasca namah*).

Perhaps the earliest clear reference to the new year in the Vedic texts is in R V, X, 85, 13, which says that the kine were slaughtered in the *aghas* (i.e. the intercalary days ended in Magha) and the marriage of Surva was celebrated in the Phalgunis. Though the seasons changed, Indian tradition maintained the sacredness of marriage in Uttara Phalguni as will be clear from the detailed description in the *Rāmāyana* of Sita's marriage under that constellation. In the period of the Avesta and the *Taittiriya Āraṇyaka* the new year's day had shifted to the Kṛttikas, i.e. by eight or nine constellations. As the shifting of the equinox is roughly by the space of one nakṣatra in 950 years, this would mean an interval in time of about 8,000 years. We are thus enabled to push the antiquity of Vedic tradition to about 11000 B.C. or earlier. The data agree with the heliacal rising of Sirius, which has been attributed to the vernal equinox and 4500 B.C., but really must be associated with the summer solstice and attributed 11000 B.C. is otherwise the epithet *yakvaṭṭṇapak* (R V, I, 105) would make nonsense. The shifting of the new year's day (trita) is clearly referred to in the legend of Dirghatamas which describes him as having fallen into the well and invoking the Gods including Bṛhaspati (Lord of Pushya) for succour. Perhaps the very earliest reference of a chronological

NIDĀNA SŪTRAM OF SĀMAVEDA ¹

Nidāna Sūtra is one of the several Sūtras of Sāmaveda. It was published by Sri-Satyvrata of Calcutta in 1896 (Samvat 1953) on the basis of two Nidāna MSS in Sanskrit College Calcutta. He has given various differences of readings of these two MSS called by him क and ख. But he was not able to find out its commentary or anything about its authorship. He simply writes on the title page of the book

“ऋषिप्रोक्तमिदम् ।”

In the end of the book we do not find the number of order it holds among the Sūtras of Sāmaveda. The last line is

“इति निदानसूत्रे दशम प्रपाठक ॥ समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥”

Still we are greatly indebted to him for the great work he has done in publishing many rare and useful works. Of course, we are now able to get help from more and more sources.

It is now definite that Nidāna Sūtra is the work of Patañjali — But which Patañjali—it is to be decided as yet. MS No 66 of Baroda Catalogue has the line

“पतञ्जलिकृत निदानसूत्रम्”

Hṛṣīkesa, the commentator, otherwise known as Pettasāstri, has written a commentary on Chandovicitti, a work on the metres of Sāmaveda. Chandovicitti forms the first portion of Nidāna Sūtra. The commentator tells us that the author of Nidāna is Patañjali —cf MS No 47(a) of Baroda Catalogue, pp 27 and 144 (description)

‘यास्पदं पिङ्गलनागाद्यै र्छन्दोविचितय कृता
तासां पिङ्गलनागीया सर्वसाधारणी भवेत् ॥
सर्वानुक्रमणी काचिच्छन्दोऽनुक्रमणी पुरा ।
शौनकीया ढलीयेमास्तिस्र ऋग्वेदिना मता ॥
यजुर्वेदविदामन्या सर्वानुक्रमणी भवेत्
सामगानां निदानस्या पतञ्जलिकृता हि सा ॥’

¹ The name of the author of this article was not communicated to the office of the Conference —Editor

cf

‘इति दशम प्रपाठक समाप्त ॥ निदानसूत्र समाप्तमिति ।

निदाननाम तृतीयसूत्र समाप्तम् ॥ श्री’

(३१००)

and

‘इति दशम प्रपाठक समाप्त । निदानसूत्र समाप्तमिति ।

निदान नाम तृतीय सूत्र समाप्तम् ॥ श्री ॥ ३१०० ॥’

Thus it is clear that the Nidāna Sūtra forms the third Sūtra of the Sūtras of Sāmaveda, and has ten prapāthakas. The third MS in my possession (from Tanjore) has along with it Pratihāra, Prastāva, and Pradhāna Sūtras of Sāmaveda. But as to the Nidāna-Sūtra it has only the Chandovicitṭi portion only. It has one peculiar feature. An index of the sections contained in this MS is given after the colophon, in reverse order.

अथावसानानि । अथ निचङ्कुरिज ऊर्ध्वङ्गत्या अतिस्कन्दसी । चतुश्चत्वारिंशदक्षरा विष्टम् । चत्वारिंशदक्षरा पङ्क्तिः । चतुर्विंशदक्षरा गायत्री । अथातस्कन्दा विचय व्याख्या-
स्याम ।

One thing about the remark of the MS Catalogue —

‘The Nidāna Sūtras available in print in the Benares Sanskrit Series contains a division of the text into 12 prapāthakas’ Now, I understand from Benares that Nidāna Sūtra has never been published there. And again the MSS in my possession and the Calcutta edition of Satyavrata contain 10 prapāthakas only. However, I am writing to Tanjore for that book if they possess.

In the commentary of Nidāna-Sūtra which has been referred to in Tanjore Library I find names of some of the Sūtras of Sāmaveda.

cf

‘एव ब्राह्मणकल्प प्रधान-निदान-प्रतिहारकुम्भोपग्रन्थेषु इन्द्र पुरस्सरम्’

In this commentary I find a quotation from a commentator of Ārseva Brāhmana by name Vidyāraṇya, cf ‘आर्षेयब्राह्मण भाष्य-कारिण विद्यारण्येन ।’

The quotation is

‘अविदित्वा ऋषिस्कन्दो देवत योगमेव च ।

योऽध्यापयेज्जपेत् नायात् न तत्फलमवाप्नुयात् ॥’

Section of Classical Sanskrit

President

PANDIT VANAMĀLI VEDĀNTATĪRTHA

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HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF SANSKRIT

PANDIT VANAMĀLI VEDĀNTATĪRTHA

It is customary for the President of a meeting of scholars, assembled to discuss any particular subject, to open it with a speech containing either a piece of serious research or, at least, a summary of the results of the previous years' work in that particular subject, carried on in diverse languages and in different countries. This custom makes the president elect work on the subject for a length of time and perchance he might come upon something really worth publication or, at least, his work may focus information lying scattered in different journals and books and thus be of help to the beginner.

In the present case, however, the effect of this custom will prove quite other than wholesome. You will have to listen to a speech, which has pretension neither to originality nor to deep thinking nor even to up to date study. This is not due to my laziness or indifference. I lack the ability required for such work. It would have been altogether better for all parties concerned, including myself, if I could have mastered sufficient strength of mind to decline the flattering offer of the presidentship, when it was first made to me. But the prospect of notoriety proved too much.

The only thing, which now remains for me to do, is to begin by frankly apologising to all of you for having accepted a position, for the responsibilities of which I have no qualification save my age and sincere respect for all who devote themselves to research. I crave your indulgent attention to my unworthy address and beg you to do the work of our section with devotion in spite of my unfitness.

Here we stand on sacred soil, immortalized by associations with Pāṇini, Pingala, Vyādi, Vararuci, and Patañjali, all honoured names in the domain of linguistics (काव्यमौलिका—कविरहस्य १० अध्याय), here worked Kauṭilya and Chandragupta, Aśoka and Puṣyamitra and Samudragupta. Let us pray to these and other immortal dead connected with this historic city that our efforts may be fruitful, and that our enthusiasm and energy might last through life.

Patna—Pāṭaliputra, Kusumapura—has a peculiar claim to the affections of all lovers of ancient Indian culture. To me, this place has a particularly sad interest. It is hallowed by the memory of

20th century, who could have produced a better order or even the same order? What physiological and linguistic knowledge is presupposed in this arrangement of the alphabet? The arrangement of the *Siva Sūtras* is clever, but it does not surpass the *Siddha* arrangement in its scientific character. First, the simple vowels (समान स्वर) and then the diphthongs (सन्ध्यक्षर) then consonants according to the organ of articulation, and in each group (वर्ग), the sharps (अघोष) coming before the sonants (घोष), non-aspirate before the aspirate, followed by the nasal, then the semi vowels (अन्तर्ध्वनि) and the sibilants (ऊष्मन्) coming in the order of the organs, य र going with चवर्ग, र प with टवर्ग, ल स with तवर्ग. Such perfection of arrangement could not have been reached in one generation. Centuries must have

there were so many ungrammatical forms and ea vā tu hi in this belly,' where upon lo! a voice from heaven cried out—

“यान्युक्तद्वार माहेशात् व्यासो व्याकरणार्णवात् ।

तानि किं पट्टद्वानि सन्ति पाणिनिगोप्यदे ?”

In Kālidāsa's time Sanskrit used to be learned very much as our children learn English, by the aid of grammars, vocabularies, and readers and by listening to the language of those who had learned the language similarly. So Kālidāsa might be supposed to have learned Sanskrit by a study of *Pāṇini*. The more comprehensive grammar of Maheśa had fallen into disuse. In this *Śloka* Kālidāsa is taunted for his inadequate knowledge of grammar derived from the hand book of Pāṇini. Pāṇini borrowed the *Pratyāhāra Sūtras* from Maheśa's grammar. If the mythologizing tendency of a later age has fathered the fourteen प्रत्याहार *Sūtras* upon the beating of the drum by the god Siva after finishing his dances, the recorder of this myth has also left the observation एतद् विमर्षे शिवसूत्रज्ञात्—this I think is the collection of the *Siva Sūtras*, which proves that this was his opinion, not the old tradition.

Maheśa or Maheśvara was a real human grammarian. Pāṇini perhaps based his work on his grammar, and did not think it incumbent upon him to record Maheśa's opinions, especially like those of काश्यप, शकटायन, आपिशलि, स्फोटायन, चक्रवर्त्मन्, भरद्वाज, शकल्य । The author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* has recorded this fact in the form of an old myth. He says that Pāṇini got his grammar from the god Siva, after performing severe penance, and that the roar of Siva made the older current grammar of India disappear from the earth.

तत्र त्रीन्नेष तपसा तोषितादिन्दुशेखरात् ।

सर्वविद्यासुखम् तेन प्राप्तं व्याकरणम् नवम् ।

नभस्त्रेण महासारी ऊह्वारं शम्भुना कृतम् ।

तेन प्रणयमैन्द्र तदस्मद्वाकरणं भुवि ॥ ४।२२ and २४ख २५क ॥

The state of Sanskrit pronunciation in and about Calcutta is bad, though it is slightly better in the remote parts. It is not far better in Assam. To give only one example, Assamese Pandits will say cerebral *ta* and dental *ta* to signify *ट* and *ठ*.

I shall deal with a few points of Sanskrit grammar, which have particularly interested me. I shall also make a few observations on the method of teaching the subject pursued in the indigenous schools, known in different localities as *Pāṭhaśālās*, *Tols* (why are they so called?) and *Padhāhālīs*, and also in the high schools and colleges. I shall exclude from my survey all discussions about the time, the locality, and the personal history of particular grammatical writers, though the results of such discussions are quite helpful to a student of Sanskrit grammar. A proper determination of the time of not only the several grammarians, but also of the authors of works in every department of the Sanskrit Vānśāstra, beginning with the *Mantras* of the *Rg-Veda* and ending with works of quite modern times such as the *Viśvagunādarśa-campū*, *Candraśāstra* and *Vāsanatīla Śāpna* (A *Midsummer Night's Dream* in Sanskrit), would be of immense aid to the compilers of a comprehensive historical grammar of the Sanskrit language. And when once well established, the results of this historical grammar might be introduced even into elementary school grammars and thus render the study of the subject more interesting and invigorating.

I give a few well known examples to prove that there has been some development or change in Sanskrit grammar even after Patañjali.

Vopadeva (about 1270 A.C.) justifies forms like *अनेगन्* with *एकार* in *लुङ्*. Does it imply that there was a revival of Vaidika forms near about the time of Vopadeva, and that he was merely recording a change in the language such as is noticed, e.g. in the line *चेष्टा बानेगन् निखिलास्तदास्या* (नैषध १४। ५५.) of *Śrīharsa*, who could not be later than the 12th century? Ratnamālā (1568 A.D.) notes that forms like *अनेगन्* are allowed by some grammarians. Vopadeva sanctions the form *वेनु*, etc. optionally with *ववन्*, etc. apparently with a view to justify verses like *वेनुश्च केचिद् वधिरम्*. Are we justified in supposing that this epic form (*वेनु*) had come back into *lauṭhī* language in spite of Pāṇini and Sarvaśarma and that Vopadeva could not therefore neglect them any longer? The author of *Ratnamālā* justifies in his *Trīti* (आ. २८१) उडेनु on the principle that 'rules with a

The incorrect usage of one period has become, if not the good, at least the tolerable, usage of a later period Vararuci, who seems to have written a commentary on the *Kātantra Sūtra*, from which *Durgasimha* borrowed the opening salutation¹ of his celebrated *vṛtti*, justifies under II 1 47 (*Kātantra*), the forms धीवरी, पीवरी, सरस्वती, फलिनी, फलवती, ओषधी for the first case plural found in standard authors Susena objects to such justification, saying that they are un-Pāṇinian Again, अन्यतम and द्वय do not occur in the list of *Sarvanāma* as given by Pāṇini and Sarvavarman But some later grammarians accepted them as *Sarvanāma* in order to account for the forms *anyatamasmin* and *drayesām* (अन्यतमस्मिन् in *शिवायुर्वेद*, द्वेषा in *Māgha*) Even Prathama (प्रथम) and pascima (पश्चिम—विष्णुपुराण १। २२। २५ has पश्चिमस्या दिशि) have been used as *Sarvanāmas* (see *Kātantraparisista* and Susena's comment, *Kavirāja*) This seems to be a case of real but unprogressive change It should not be forgotten that every language is in a state of flux It should be a gross error to suppose that deviation from rules laid down by Pāṇini, though he is the greatest grammarian of the world, is always a gross error If people find it useful or think it meritorious or commendable to write and speak in Sanskrit, the language must change, as it has done even after Pāṇini The ancient or rather mediæval Sanskrit grammars record some of these changes, and hence they are very useful to a student of historical grammar A mine of useful information might be gathered from Sripati's *Parisista*

We now pass on the *Samāsa Pralāna* When the rules found in Pāṇini were composed there was some rigidity in the formation of compounds just as there is in English even now Thus the *second tatpuruṣa* (*Dvitiya Samāsa*) was limited only to जित, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त, प्राप्त, and आपन्न The *Vārtika lāra* found this enumeration too narrow for the facts of the language in his time So he added गमिगम्यादीनाम् उपसङ्ख्यानम्, i.e. ग्रामगमी, ग्रामगामी, and अन्नवुमुच्चु had become correct in Kātyāyana's time, though they were not so in the time of the *Sūtra* Similarly with the *Sūtra* सप्तमी गौष्ठे The *Kātantra* does not give any lists and the *Mugdhabodha* follow the *Kātantra*

The tendency in modern classical Sanskrit is to allow unlimited liberty in the formation of compounds, if there is सानर्थ्य or अन्वय

¹ “देवदेव प्रणम्यादौ सर्वज्ञ सर्वदर्शिनम् ।

कातन्त्रस्य प्रवक्ष्यामि व्याख्यानं सार्वभौमिकम् ॥

The *Samksiptasāravṛtti* adds *krs* (कृष) to Durgasimha's list and brings the number to fourteen. In *Supadma* the number of roots is fourteen, the same as in *Samksiptasāra*. The *Mugdhabodha* augments the list by the addition of three more, namely *muṣ*, *pac*, and *grah* (सृप, पच and ग्रह), and brings the number to seventeen. *Kaṇyaka* observes that roots like *ji* also have two accusatives, as indicated by the *ca* (च). Mādhava Acharya says—

जयते कर्पतेर्मन्येर्मुपेर्दण्डयते पचे
तारेर्ग्राहिन्मयामोचेस्त्याजेर्दीपेच सग्रह
कारिकाया च-शब्देन सुधाकरमुखे कृत ॥

Bhaṭṭoji in his well known *Kāṇḍā* 'दुष्प्राचपचदण्ड, etc' has given the eleven given by the *Vārttika Bhāṣya* and the six mentioned in line one. His number is sixteen, because he has not thought it necessary to include *Bhiks* (भिक्ष) given by Kātyāyana as it is covered by *Yāc* (याच), though he had shown their difference and therefore the necessity of including both *याच* and *भिक्ष* in the *Sabda Kaustubha* before he composed this *śloka* for the *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. The author of the *Prakriyā Kaumudī*, Rāmachandra, gives all the seventeen given by Vopadeva. Bhaṭṭoji and his school have criticised him severely. For *ग्रह* with two accusatives, Rāmachandra gives the example *जग्राह द्युतरं शक्रम्* = (*Kṛsna*) took away the *pārijāta* tree from Indra, and Vopadeva gives *जग्राह यज्जनो भोज्यम्*. The example of *पच्* given by Rāma is a paraphrase of Vopadeva's *योऽसौ पचन्ति लोकानां पुण्यपाप सुखादुखम्*¹. When Bhaṭṭoji wrote his *Sabda-Kaustubha* he justified some of the explanations and examples of Rāmacandra, but after writing the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* he criticised Rāma at every opportunity in the *Praudha Manoramā*, perhaps with the object of winning scholars away from the *प्रक्रिया कौमुदी* and he did succeed. Under the present *Sūtra* he observes in the *सनोरमा*, 'जग्राह द्युतरं शक्र इत्युदाहरणमपि अयुक्तम्'. The *Tattva bodhinī* has quoted the opinion of some experts who regarded this remark of Bhaṭṭoji as improper. The ingenuity of commentators² has found all these roots except, perhaps *ग्रह*, in the *Vārttika* and the *Bhāṣya*. Whether they

¹ Was Vopadeva later than Rāmacandra, as is held by Mahāmahopādhyāya H P Sāstrī?

² सूत्रेष्वेव हि तत् सर्वं यद् एतौ यच्च वार्तिके (*Sabda Kaustubha* I I 1) the principle enunciated herein is universally accepted by medieval scholars, though it is clearly wrong from the modern point of view.

sometimes set at naught the authority of all the three sages—*Pāṇini*, *Kātyāyana*, and *Patañjali*. As an instance in point mark his observation ‘*Kṛasu* and *Kānac* (कृसु, कानच) are confined to *chandas*’ (unless, of course, especially provided for, as in भाषाया सद्वस्युव) ‘This is the opinion of the three sages. But poets use them largely’ (Sk 3095). Take another case. The compound परम-पात्रे-समिता is wrong, for पात्रे-समिता, etc. do not occur as parts of other compounds. Now *Patañjali* gives the *Vigraha* परम पात्रे समिता, but Bhattoji in कौमुदी and Nāgesa in श्रेखर prefer परमा पात्रे समिता following *Nyāsa*, *Karyata* and *Padamañjarī*. To a modern, both these analyses are correct. *Patañjali* has rejected the *Sūtra* अर्धं नपुसकम्. Agreeing with him, *Saravarman* and *Vopadeva* did not frame any corresponding *Sūtra*. In modern Sanskrit पिप्पलीधर्मम् and अर्धपिप्पली both mean half a pippali, according to *Patañjali*, *Durgasimha*, *Vopadeva*, *Kramadīśvara*, and *Purusottama* (Ratnamālā). *Padmanābha* and *Mallinātha* do not support this view, they prefer to follow *Pāṇini*. I need not multiply examples. They are known to all.

For current Sanskrit such as was written by *Kālidāsa*, *Bhatti*, *Bharabhūti*, *Bhāravi*, *Māgha*, *Śrīharsa* and such as is being written even nowadays by a host of gifted scholars in every part of India such as MM Gananath Sen, Hemchandra Ray, Kalipada Tarkāchārya, Appāsāstri, MM Durgaprasada Dvivedi, etc etc, the real authority has shifted to *Nāgeśa*’s works in the *Pāṇinian* system, and to *Susena* (*Kavirāja*) and *Śrīpati-Gopinātha* in the *Kātantra* system.

If you persist in treating the Sanskrit as a living language, such changes must occur and must be tolerated, for without change there is no life. *Kramadīśvara* has a *Sūtra* justifying the निजन्त forms लिखापयति, वष्टापयति, and लज्जापयति (लज्ज?) *Goyīcandra* observes (निडन्तपाद 448S) ‘गिटप्रयोगदर्शनात् लक्षणमेतत् कृतम् न तु चार्पम्’. This shows that in the opinion of *Goyīcandra* the time for enunciating new *Sūtras* did not pass away with *Patañjali*. Theoretically speaking, we of the second quarter of the 20th century A C also may make new *Sūtras*. But the formulation of new *Sūtras* is a task which should not be lightly undertaken. Some of our best authors have given *Sūtras* which are not strictly accurate, e.g. ‘In the first person the plural sometimes stands for the singular, *if the speaker is a high personage*’. The portion italicized should be omitted, and ‘or the dual’ should be inserted after the ‘singular’.

of such a work But mine was a feeble voice unable to make itself audible to the people who count Would the Patna University and the Bihar Research Society, which have already so much good work to their credit, rise to the height of the occasion and undertake to organise the compilation and publication of such a work? The Bhandarker Research Institute of Poona, which was the centre of Hindu revival in the recent past, is engaged in the gigantic task of bringing out a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* the fasciculi already published have amply justified the outlay of money and labour devoted to the work Will Patna the centre of India's intellectual and political life in bygone days, make an effort to compile a comprehensive, historical dictionary of the Sanskrit language? There is especial fitness in Patna's undertaking the work it was here that the great authority on Indian lexicography Mahāmahopādhyāya Rāmāvatāra Pandeya worked and died To the grammarian, such a dictionary would be an indispensable help book, but a help book still, and I have already said a little too much on the subject

The future grammarian of Sanskrit on historical principles should firstly study all available systems of old and mediæval grammatical *Sūtras* and commentaries, and formulate rules therefrom Secondly, he should always refer to recorded use in order to justify or modify these rules Not only this, he must, thirdly, study the modern system of derivation, etc taught by Euro-American grammarians and their followers, and it ought to be his aim to compare it with that given by Indian Grammarians and find out the truth Take a few examples

How is the word पितामह derived? पित्र्+डामहच् replies the grammarian He is right, as far as grammar is concerned But might not the modern philologist suggest something like this — मह् or मह् (cf महत्) as an independent word means great, and पितामह is simply 'father grand', i.e. grandfather But it may be said that this would not do in any but the first case singular, पितामहौ, पितामहन्य etc would be ungrammatical on this hypothesis, पिता being first case singular, and महौ and महस्य being first case dual and sixth case singular Cannot it be said that the च् of पित्र् in कर्मधारय समास becomes आ when मह् (which ought ordinarily to precede) follows? Would not this be a nearer approach to the actual derivation? If so, should this not be taught even to young learners? Take another

siasm In fact, it was a reasonable complaint that the *Pāthasālās* (or *tols*) attached too much importance to the *Vicāra* portion of grammar to the neglect of the actual rules and their proper application (*lakṣyas* and *lakṣanas*) When an attempt was made to explain the principles of elementary deductive logic (European brand) to the students of the Sylhet Sanskrit College, one of the cleverer students remarked, on hearing my lectures on terms, propositions and immediate inference, that this was really grammar He was partly right, because he was already familiar with *Vādārtha*, and had read his *Kātantra* rather thoroughly In the high schools and colleges, however, this department of grammar has been necessarily neglected, so that the ordinary graduate is unaware of the very existence of these exceedingly interesting discussions on *Kāraṇa*, *Samāsa*, *Salṭi*, etc to which his brothers of the *Pāthasālās* devote so much time and attention

Bhartrhari's Vākyapadīya is the book on this subject A scholar who would endeavour to correctly understand the book, with the help of the authoritative commentary and then, and not till then, to produce a faithful translation of it into easy English or into his mother tongue, with occasional notes to explain the more difficult topics, and full references to the passages of the three *munis* on which the *Vākyapadīya* professes to be based, and also to those passages in the *Siddhānta Kārikās* of *Bhaṭṭoji*, the *Varyākaranabhūṣana* of *Kondabhatta*, and the *Mañjūsā* of *Nāgesa*, which are based on the *Vākyapadīya*, will find his labours amply rewarded There are numerous other well-known books on the subject, such as *Śabdasaktiprakāśikā*, *Vyutpativāda*, *Sāraṃjanarī*, *Sat Kāraṇa*, which have to be explored Needless to say that the ordinary commentaries and sub commentaries and glosses on the grammatical *Sūtras* have also devoted considerable amount of space in their several books to this subject, and that these also deserve perusal

Mr Kamalāśankar Prāśankar Trivedi's English notes on the *Varyākaranabhūṣana* (Bombay Sanskrita Prākṛita Series), and Dr Prabhat Chandra Chakravartti's *Philosophy of Sanskrit Grammar* (Calcutta University) will be of help to the beginner, especially if he cannot have the benefit of the guidance of a *tol* Pandit (*Sāstrī*)

The study of the logic of grammar would furnish us with many nice terms for the corresponding technical words of modern logic and philosophy I give a common example What Sanskrit words

विशेषणम् Again the meaning of a sentence like हरि भजति देवदत्त, is हरि-निष्ठ-प्रीत्यनुकूल एक-देवदत्त-निष्ठ वर्तमानो व्यापार Devadatta worships Hari=the present action tending to produce pleasure in Hari (is) in one individual Devadatta, the meaning of the sentence हरि भज्यते देवदत्तेन is precisely the same This is founded on the following doctrine of the Philosophy of grammar क्रियाप्रधानमाख्यानम् the action signified by the verb root is the principal (विशेष्य substantive, primary) with reference to the meaning of the तिङ् विभक्ति, which is subordinate (विशेषण) The doctrine of the *Naiyāyikas* is more familiar to us, who are conversant with the analysis of sentences taught in English grammar, देवदत्त हरि भजति (according the *Naiyāyikas*)=हरिनिष्ठ-प्रीत्यनुकूल-व्यापाराय यो देवदत्त, i.e. Devadatta is the individual in whom inheres the action tending to produce pleasure in Hari This analysis has another advantage हरि भज्यते देवदत्तेन is allotted a separate meaning, namely, Hari is the individual in whom inheres the pleasure produced by an action inhering in D = देवदत्त निष्ठ कृति-जन्य-प्रीत्याय यो हरि

I have dwelt at some length on this trite subject, in order to draw your pointed attention to the new problem before us The modern Philosopher of Sanskrit grammar cannot be satisfied with mere exposition of old views, more or less familiar to students of *pāṭhaśālās*, he has to compare the analyses of English grammar and logic with those of Sanskrit grammar and logic, and adjudicate upon their respective claims

There is a very well-known *Sloka*, *Manu*, IV 238,

धर्मं गन्ते सच्चिनुयाद वस्त्रोक्तमिव पुत्तिका ।

परलोकासहायार्थं सर्वभूतान्यपीडयन् ॥

Here we are asked to store up merit by not hurting all beings If we hurt (पीड) some beings, it can still be said that we do not hurt all beings But that is not the meaning The meaning is that we are to hurt no being It would not do to reply that अपीडयन् means उपकुर्वन्, for in मा हिंस्या सर्वा भूतानि, मा निपाद प्रतिष्ठान्तमगम गच्छती समा, and क्षेयविण्मृत्ररक्तानि सर्वदेव न लङ्घयेत्, मा and न appear as distinct words Mark here the great difference between English and Bengali idiom on the one hand, and Sanskrit idiom on the other It ought to be one of the aims of the modern grammarian to compare Sanskrit with English and the vernaculars and show their differences and agreements Are Sanskrit, Bengali, Hindi, and English all

and discussions should be omitted. The aim should be to teach the rudiments of the subject, a few rules of *Sandhi*, *Satva*, *Natva*, the easier and more frequent declensions and conjugations. (4) The students reading for the title examinations should carefully master all the *Viçāras* and should aim at some familiarity with systems other than their own. (5) *Kāvya*s written with a grammatical motive, such as *Bhaṭṭi*, *Rāvanārjunīya*, *Dvyasraya Kāvya* (Haima), *Kavirahasya*, *Vāsudevaviṇaya*, *Dhātukāvyā*, *Nakṣatramālā* (a love poem with *Paribhāṣās*), might be studied. But the study of these grammatical poems is less important even to the students of grammar than the study of a stout volume of typical selections containing illustrative and interesting pieces from the literature of all the epochs of Sanskrit literature and culled from every one of the *Vidyās*, *Mantra*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Upaniṣad*, *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyana*, *Dharmasāstra*, *Purāṇa*, drama, art epics, prose romances, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, medicine, tantra, Buddhist and Jaina Sanskrit works. The compilation of such a work is of utmost importance, and a committee of representative scholars might undertake the work. When compiled, such a book would automatically find a place in the curriculum for the examinations of the universities and the Sanskrit Boards. (6) It is a regrettable fact that some of the illustrations of the grammar manuals are too difficult not only for the boys but also for their less erudite teachers. For their benefit, these *lāṭṣyas* should be concisely and accurately explained in every printed manual. Sufficient material for this work lies scattered in books like the *Ganaratna Mahodadhī* of Vardhamana, the commentaries on *Bhaṭṭi* and *Rāvanārjunīya*, and the great commentaries on the grammars themselves. (7) Care should be taken to bring out correct editions of the grammars, containing full references to *Sūtras* and authorities and citations in the *tiṭa*. The late Professor Srischandra Chakravartti's edition of the *Nyāsa* might serve as a model to all intending editors. Even the much-studied *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, with the *Tattvabodhinī*, which apparently is a best seller, cries out for a conscientious editor. The *Sūtras* and *Bhaṭṭoji's vṛtti* available in the market nowadays are in several places worse than those given by Tārānāth Tarkavācaspati in his edition half a century ago. The paragraphs of the *Siddhānta Kaumudī* have to be renumbered. I am at a loss to understand why the important *Vārttikapāṭha* given as an appendix in the

FRAGMENTS OF KOHALA

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It is a misfortune that a vast Sanskrit literature on dramaturgy has perished in the course of ages Kohala is one of the ancient writers on dramaturgy, who apparently composed an extensive work on the several topics of dramaturgy, but is now known only from quotations A brief resume of the references to his work contained in published works would be of interest to students of Sanskrit dramaturgy

The compiler of the extant Nāṭyasāstra says in a prophetic vein that Kohala will complete in a supplementary work the subjects of the Nāṭyasāstra and that Kohala, Vātsya, Sāṇḍilya, and Dhūrtīla will spread among the people the śāstra श्रेष्ठमुत्तरतन्त्रेण कीदृश कथयिष्यति (नाट्यशास्त्र 36, 65 of the Kāśī Series and Chap 37, 18 of the Kāvya-mālā edition) vide also Nāṭyasāstra 36, 71 (37, 24 of the Kāvya-mālā for the four names) In the first Chapter of the Nāṭyasāstra where the names of the hundred sons of Bharata are enumerated, Sāṇḍilya, Vātsya, Kohala, and Dattīla are the very first to be mentioned (verse 26) It is not unreasonable to infer that when the Nāṭyasāstra assumed its present form, Kohala's work had been composed

The next important notice is that contained in the Kuttanīmata (verse 81) of Dāmodaragupta (latter half of 8th century) where Kohala is mentioned along with Bharata as a writer on music and dancing

कतमत्कतमन्त्र प्रस्थाने का च नर्तकी भर्ता ।

विटखेटके का नृत्यति कीदृशभरतोदितक्रियया ॥ verse 81

In the Abhinavabhāratī (Vol I, in Gaekwad's Oriental Series) there are several references to Kohala's views On p 173 we read 'नोटकप्रकरणसकप्रभवेखदसगृहीत तथापि नाट्यरूपत्वात्कीदृशसु ब्रवीतीति च परिहारस्य समानत्वात्' On the same page it is said that Kohala and others have accepted 'sāttvika abhinaya' and a quarter of a verse is quoted from him सत्त्विकोपगृहीत एव कीदृशाद्यै 'सत्त्वानिरिक्तोभिनय इत्यादिवचनमालिखद्भिः । (p 173) On p 182 two verses of Kohala are quoted

In the Bhāvapiakāsana of Sārādātanaṃya several views of Kohala are cited On p 204 Kohala's idea of *bindu* is noticed

(फले प्रधाने विच्छिन्ने बीजस्यावान्तरै फलै ।
तस्याविच्छेदको हेतु विन्दुरित्याह कोहल ॥)

According to Kohala there is an option as to the existence of *patākā* in a drama since in the Mālavikāgnimitra there is no *patālā*, while in the Mālatimādhava there is *patālā*

(अभावस्तु पताकाया यथा मालविकादिषु ।
सङ्गाधो दृश्यते तस्या मालतीमाधवादिषु ।
तस्मात्पताका स्यादिति विकल्प प्राह कोहल ॥
भावप्रकाशन, p 210)

Kohala's definition of the species of drama called *anla* is given in Bhāvaprakāsana, p 236

(समस्तपात्रनिष्क्रामावसानोद्गोभिधीयते ।
पताकाम्यानकान्यत्र विन्दुरन्ते च बीजकम् ।
प्रयुज्यते यदि भवेत्तत्राह इति कोहल ॥)

The definition of Bhāna given by Kohala and other *ācāryas* is cited in the Bhāvaprakāsana, p 245

(कोहलादिभिराचार्यैरेक भाषस्य लक्षणम् ।
लास्याद्गणकोपेत सम्यगुत्पाद्यवस्तु च ।
भारतीदृष्टिभूयिष्ठं प्रज्ञारैकरसाययम् ।
परस्वात्मानुभूतार्थधूर्तचारित्र्यवर्णनम् ।
तत्तद्विद्योक्तिप्रत्युक्तिविद्धिताकाशभाषितम् ।
मुखनिर्वहणप्राय सन्धियुगूपक च यत् ।)

According to Kohala there may be or may not be *lāsyaṅgas* in a *vithi* (भवेयुर्वा न वेत्यस्या लास्याङ्गानीत्याह कोहल । भावप्रकाशन, p 251)

According to Kohala in the variety of *uparūpakas* called *उत्पृष्टिकाङ्क* there are two Acts, while according to Bharata there is only one and three Acts according to Vyāsa and Āṇjaneya (भावप्रकाशन, p 257)

In the commentary on the Sangitaratnākara (Ānandāsrama ed) a verse of Kohala (an Upajāti) is cited wherem it is said that there are 22 *srutis* (in music) according to some, 66 according to others, and numberless according to others

तथा चाह कोहल —

द्वाविंशति केचिदुदाहरन्ति युती युतिज्ञानविचारदत्ता ।

षट्षष्टिभिन्ना खलु केचिदासामानन्त्यमेव प्रतिपादयन्ति ॥ संगीतरत्नाकर (p 35)

In the same work (pp 679-689) there is a very long quotation in verse from Kohala extending over eleven pages on 'cālakas' in reply

KUNTAKA'S CONCEPTION OF GUNAS

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Although *KUNTAKA* treats of *gunas* at length devoting not less than twenty-five pages of his book, yet he does not mention the word *guna* in his definition of poetry, nor does he consider *gunas* as lying at the root of the soul of poetry, as *Mamata* has done¹ According to him poetry is that union of word and sense,² which resides in a composition endowed with the *vakra-kavi-vyāpāra*³ and which gives rise to joy in the minds of people who understand poetry

This union of word and sense is to be found where⁴ the strikingness and the charming *gunas* and *alankāras* exist in a condition of vying with one another This union should be like that of two friends and should tend to impart beauty to word and sense both⁵ It is that charming co existence of both where neither is in an inappropriate quantity⁶ *Kuntaka's* *sāhitya* very aptly conveys the idea of what is literature For, it is that indescribable and excellent construction of sentences wherein word and sense both, each vying with the other, display all the resources of their beauty in a way so as to give rise to joy in the hearts of the men of taste⁷

(NB—References to *KUNTAKA* are from the second revised and enlarged edition of the *Vakrokti jivita* by S K De, Calcutta Oriental Series, No 8, Calcutta, 1928)

¹ tadadosau śabdārthau sagunāvanalamkṛtī punah kvāpi I, 4

² śabdārthau sahītau vakra kavi vyāpāra śālini,
bandhe vyavasthitau kāvyam tadvidāhlāda kārini I, 7

³ It is explained by the author as śāstrādi prasiddha śabdārthopambandha vyatirekī, p 14, i.e different from the well known usage of word and sense as found in scriptures, etc

⁴ kīdrśam ? vakratā vicitra gunālankāra sampadām paraspara sparadhādhrohah, p 10

⁵ sama sarva gunau santau suhrdāviva sangatau, parasparasya śobhāya śabdārthau bhavato yathā, p 11

⁶ sāhityam anayoh śobhā śalitām prati kāpyasau,
anyūnānati rīkṭatva manohārinyavasthiti I, 17

⁷ tasmād etayoh śabdārthav or yathāsvam vasyām sva sampat sāmagrī-samudayaḥ sahrdayāhlāda kārī paraspara spardhayā parisphurati sā kācīdeva vākya vimnyāsa sampat sāhitya vyapadeśa bhāg bhavati, p 27

māra poet has the natural ability for saukumārya or delicacy, and his style will be sukumāra¹⁸. Similarly a poet of vicitra (lit. variegated) nature adopts the vicitra style and a poet of mixed nature employs the madhama style. But as the nature and temperament of poets are many, it is impossible to enumerate and define them all. Therefore, Kuntala selects only three types. One may here observe that Kuntala's opinion is open to the same objection which he put forth against the geographical division of ritis into three kinds.

It has been pointed above that these mārgas contain the qualities mādhyā, etc. In fact what constitutes the specific individuality of these three mārgas, is the difference in the gunas which reside in them. Kuntala first of all gives a general description of these mārgas and then points out the four gunas which reside in all these mārgas, but which are different from one another in every mārga.

Sukumāra style is pleasing to heart word and its sense used in it should be able to please the sahrdayas. They both spring up spontaneously and do not require any exertion on the part of poet. The alankāras are few but charming and are not brought into play by a poet with any special exertion¹⁹. The erudition (āhārya-kauśala)²⁰ of the poet is hidden behind his ingenious handling of the subject matter. The description is full of inner charm and it agrees with the inner experiences of the sahrdayas. In short whatever charm it possesses, it is derived from the genius of the poet and is not due to his exertion²¹. This is the pet style of Kālidāsa.

The gunas of the sukumāra style are —

- (1) mādhyā, which consists in those words which are free from compounds and which are pleasing in sound

¹⁸ The term sukumāra is difficult to translate. It may be expressed by 'noble,' 'delicate' or 'graceful'. Saukumārya may be translated by 'delicacy of expression'. It is the sahajā śakti (natural or inborn capacity, the same as the 'naisargikī pratibhā' of Dandin, see *Kāvya-darsa* I, 103) and stands in contrast with 'vaidagdhya' (acquired ability, equivalent to vyutpatti).

¹⁹ āyatna vihita svalpa manohārī vibhūsanah I, 25

²⁰ Explained as—vyutpatti vihita kauśalam, p. 30

²¹ tat sarvam alankārādī pratibhodbhavam kavi śakti samullasitam eva, na punar āhāryam yathākathāñcit pravatnena nispādani, p. 48

pleasantness of sounds, which softly touches the heart and which possesses a spontaneous charm of blandness or sweetness

The thing which stands out clearly in these definitions and descriptions of the gunas is that they are either vague or overlapping. The *asamastī-padātva* of the quality *mādhurya* is the same as the *padānām-asamastatvam* of *prasāda*. The *manohāritva* of *mādhurya*, which is explained as due to *śruti-ramyatva* and *artha-ramyatva* does not differ from the *śruti-pesalatā-sālitva* of *ābhijātya*. Again the *vimnyāsa* of *mādhurya*, which is explained as *samnyesa-vaicitrya* is the same as the *samnyesamāhīmā* of *lāvanya*. It may be argued that in *mādhurya*, the *vimnyāsa* (arrangement) is that of the *padas* (words) whereas in *lāvanya* it is that of the *varnas* (letters). But the *varna-vimnyāsa* of *lāvanya* also leads to the *samprat* of *pada-sandhāna*, which is ultimately the same as the *pada-samnyesa*. Again, the epithets employed are only high sounding words without any clear cut logical connotation. For, the word *saukumārya* is at one place explained as *ābhijātya* (page 48). But *saukumārya* is also the term which comprehends all the gunas of the *sukumāra* style, and *ābhijātya* is one of the four gunas that constitute the *sukumāra* style.

Kuntala enters into the discussion of the question as to how *lāvanya* and *ābhijātya* the qualities residing in an extraordinarily handsome lady, can be considered as the qualities of poetry. In reply he says, that if such an objection is raised then the definitions of *mādhurya* and *prasāda* by the old writers will also be faulty. *Mādhurya* is ascribed to poetry on account of producing pleasure similar to that produced by sweet things like molasses in which it really resides. In the same way *prasāda* is ascribed to that poetry which possesses the quality of clearness and perspicuity in common with clear water or marble, for which it really stands. Similarly the beauty of composition which is brought about by the charm produced by a poet through his skill, cannot be better expressed by another term than by *lāvanya*. And accordingly the naturally bland and sweet grace in poetry is expressed by the term *ābhijātya*.

of word and sense lies in the fact that the suggested sense is known simultancously with the expressed sense

The next characteristic is that an *alankāra* is made the subject of another *alankāra*. That is, the two figures in a verse stand in the relation of *upakāryopakāra* (one supporting the other). This case is quite different from *sankāra* (combination of dependent figures), because both the figures are separate and distinct. It is also different from *samsṛiti* (where both the figures are independent), because here one figure is subordinate to another.

The figures should by themselves be so charming and dazzlingly beautiful, that the real sense has its beauty enhanced, as the dazzlingly beautiful ornaments enhance the beauty of a lady's body. Such figures are *vyājastuti*, *pariāyokta*, etc., e.g. *aprastuta-prasamsā m—katamah pravijrmbhita-viraha-vyathahsūnyatām nīto dśah*. A poet should make a happy choice of words so that an ordinary thing appears to be extraordinary. An old idea is garbed in new epithets. Not only this, but a poet must be able to give a beautiful shape to an ugly thing also. The poet should strive to produce suggested sense by means of words capable of it. The nature of all the objects²⁸ should be described as full of charming and implied sense, for which he should employ his extraordinary skill²⁹.

It is evident that according to *Kuntaka* this *mārga* is dependent upon the skill of the poet in contrast with the *sukumāra mārga* which is an outcome of the latter's inborn nature³⁰.

(1) *mādhurya* stands for the avoidance of looseness in structure.

(2) *prasāda* or perspicuity, according to *Kuntaka*, is the same as with the old writers, but with this difference that it has a touch of *ojas* also.

According to old writers *prasāda* is the quality of perspicuity,³¹ but *Kuntaka* seems to mean by it *asamasta*

²⁸ bhāva śabdenātra sarva padartho'bhūdhīyate, na ratyādireva, p. 65

²⁹ vaidagdhvenottejitaḥ p. 65

³⁰ cf. S. K. De's Introduction, pp. XXXIII XXXIV

³¹ athānukto budhair yatra śabdādarthah pratiṣṭyate,
sukha śabdārtha samyogāt prasādah parikīrtvate

Following is the comparative table —

sukumāra	vicitra
1 mādhyā	1 mādhyā
(a) samasta pada prācurvābhāva (b) manohāritva	(a) śaithilyābhāva
2 prasāda	2 prasāda
(a) padānām asamastatvam, (b) prasiddhābhūdhanatvam, (c) avyavahita sambandhatvam, (d) samāsa sadbhāve pi gamaka samāsayuktatā	(a) asamasta padatvam with a touch of ojas, (b) gamaka vākya pravoga
3 lāvanya	3 lāvanya
(a) śabdārtha saukumārya subhagah samniveśa mahimā	(a) alupta visargatvam (b) samvoga pūrva hrasva letters
4 ābhijātva	4 ābhijātva
(a) svabhāva masrta cchāyatvam	(a) nāti komala cchāyatvam (b) nāti kathina cchāyatvam

From the table given above it is evident that mādhyā of vicitra style has a kind of compactness which is not very essential in sukumāra style. In prasāda of sukumāra style there are either no compounds or easy compounds whileas in vicitra style there is a mixture and also the employment of sentences which bring the sense of a particular sentence into prominence. Lāvanya of sukumāra style is the beautiful arrangement of words and sense, but in vicitra it is the juxtaposition of words which is made specific by retaining the visargas and by the employment of short vowels lengthened by the following conjunct consonants. Ābhijātva of sukumāra style has a natural softness which is tampered by harshness in the vicitra style.

The chief characteristics of the mādhyama style are, that it appeals to men of sukumāra and vicitra temperament both. Herein the qualities of both the styles reside in a harmony as if vying with one another. The natural ability and the skill of the poet blend together to produce charm in this style. It is the

case-ending, temperament, gestures, etc singly, but by all put together Both these qualities pervade all the three styles by existing in word, sense, and composition ⁴⁰ Absence of these both obstructs the charm of poetry

⁴⁰ *Aucitya vicāra carcā*, 8-10 *Dhanyāloka*, III, 6-14

A NEW DRAMA OF BHĀSA (?)

(Summary)

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I *Vināyāsavadattā* Name known from a commentary on *Sākuntala*

II M R Kavi attributed it to Sūdraka (Ref Proceedings of the Madras Session of the Conference) no evidence

III Eight Ankas available first four complete mere fragments for the remaining four perhaps complete only in ten Ankas , evidence thus far only for eight Ankas

IV Story same as that of *Pratijñāyugandharāyana*

V All the stanzas in the drama available in two collections Only eight Ankas in these collections, also a prologue and an epilogue

VI *Pratijñā*- perhaps a later adaptation from this , comparison with the scrappy nature of *Svapnavāsavadatta* Reference to the story of *Udayana* in *Bhāmaha* perhaps to this Drama

VII Differences and agreements between this Drama and the *Pratijñā* , also between this Drama and the story known in books of tales in Sanskrit

VIII Two MSS both in the possession of the present writer , one his own and the other got on loan from Mr M R Kavi The first complete for the first three Ankas , the other fragments for the first three, complete for the fourth and fragments for the remaining four Ankas

IX Affinity with the Bhāsa School begins with the entry of *Sūtradhāra*, no name of work or author in the prologue, prologue-styled *Sthāpanā* and not *Prastāvanā* , same *Prākṛt* as in Bhāsa

X Style , affinity with *Kālidāsa* , common ideas between *Kālidāsa* and this Drama

XI Remarks on *Prākṛt* Peculiar way of writing *Prākṛt* in Malabar

XII Fire incident in this Drama

XIII References to this Drama in *Śvapnavāsavadatta*

XIV No quotation from this or reference to this traced except in a commentary on *Sākuntala*

HARISVĀMĪ—THE COMMENTATOR OF THE SATAPATHA
BRĀHMANA AND THE DATE OF SKANDASVĀMĪ—
THE COMMENTATOR OF THE RĠVEDA

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Harisvāmi, the commentator of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, is an important ancient author. His Commentary, in extracts, on Kānda I (from the fourth Brāhmaṇa of the seventh Adhyāya as far as the end) and XIII of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa was edited by Weber as early as 1849. Pandit Satyavata Sāmasramī, in his edition of the same Brāhmaṇa, which unfortunately still remains unfinished, edited Harisvāmi's Commentary, in full, on the above mentioned portion of Kānda I. A reference to the introductions of these two editions shows that, according to the information of these two scholars, no complete manuscript of the Commentary of Harisvāmi was to be found anywhere. The only portions of this commentary which were known to exist in manuscript-libraries consisted of the Commentary on Kānda I (only on the final portion referred to above), II, VIII, and XIII. As far as my present knowledge, in this connection goes, I cannot add any new information to the above, excepting of course that which is given below and which is mainly the basis of this paper. This, together with a few references to him by other authors as Kaika and Deva Yājñika, is almost all that we so far have known regarding Harisvāmi. It was a pity that no further definite information was available regarding this important author who is quoted by as old an author as Kaika (cp. his Commentary on *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* VIII 181).

But fortunately last year I came across, in the Government Sanskrit Library, Benares, a complete manuscript (referred to below as the Benares manuscript) of Harisvāmi's Commentary on the whole of the first Kānda of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is unique in more than one way. So far I have no information of any other complete manuscript of the Commentary on the first Kānda. Not only its introductory stanzas give us some very important information regarding this author, its concluding portion, which is some-

The concluding portion of the manuscript is as follows —(sic)
fol 208

श्रीश्याचार्यहरिहरस्वामिन कृतौ शतपथभाष्ये हविर्यज्ञेयु षष्ठसोध्याय समाप्त
समाप्तमिदं काण्ड ।

नागस्वामिसुतोवन्धा पाराशर्यो वसन् हरि ।
युत्यर्थं पातयामासु शक्तित पौष्करौयक ॥ १ ॥
यदादीना कलेर्जग्मुः सप्तत्रिंशत्तानि वै ।
चत्वारिंशत्समाख्यास्यास्तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतं ॥ २ ॥

This is followed by the scribe's words —(sic)

यदि हृदयनिवेगाज्जखनिभ्रान्तिभावाद्
नयनचलनसङ्गाहोन्नतशब्दावलम्बात् ।
लिखितमकृतवृद्धा यन्मया पुस्तकेष्विन्
करकृतमपराधं चक्षुर्महंति सत ॥

श्रीसंवत् १८०४८ लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं नक्षीकान्त-शर्मणा श्रीकाशीनाथ प्रीतये
शुभम् ॥

The one important point in which this concluding portion differs from that of the other manuscripts is the stanza *यदाब्दानां कलेर्जग्मुः*, etc which fixes the date, as already stated, of the composition of the commentary According to it the work was composed when 3740 years of the Kali era had passed The present Kali era being 5031, the work was composed 1,291 years ago, i e about 639 A D

The date evidently coincides with the reign of Harṣa If so, who was the Vikrama or Vikramārka (cp the ending of the commentary on Kānda I in Sāmasramī's edition) who is spoken of above as *अवन्तिनाथ* and *चिन्तित* and whose *धर्मार्थं* Harisvāmī claims to be? No Vikrama reigning at Avantī about this time is known to historians If there is no mistake in the above date we can meet this difficulty by the assumption that some subordinate king of Avantī is here referred to by the name or title of Vikrama or Vikramārka The general opinion of historians is that about this time Avantī was a part of the empire of Harṣa, cp C V Vaidya *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol I, pp 23-25 and 36 It is just possible that the Vikrama referred to by Harisvāmī was a local king subordinate to Harṣa Or, cannot we assume that after the defeat of Harṣa by Pulakeśin II in about 620 A D Avantī might have passed into the hands of the latter and therefore about 639

Now let us proceed with the examination of the quotations
The traceable quotations are as follows —

I The following are some of the quotations from the Manusmṛti —(sic)

- fol 13^b पितृदेवमनुष्याणां वेदश्चक्षुः सनातनम् । (XII, 94),
उत्पद्यन्ते व्ययन्तेव यात्यन्तीत्यानि कानिचित् । (XII 96)
,, वेदशब्देन्य एवादौ प्रथमस्तथा च निर्ममे । (I, 21),
,, भूतं भवतु भविष्यच्च सर्व-वेदात्प्रसिध्यति । (cp XII 97)
,, धर्म-जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं द्युतिः । (II, 13),
,, द्युतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशाम्बलं तु वै स्मृतिः । (II 10)
,, 38^a सोऽपि एव समर्थादौ तास्तु वीचनवाच्यतु । (cp I, 8),
,, 83^a धनं यज्जग्मीलानां देवस्तु तद्विदुर्बुधाः । (XI, 20)

II The following quotations can be traced to the Visṇu-purāṇa —(sic)

- fol 2^b अत्रानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मौमासा-न्याय-विस्तरः ।
पुराणं धर्मशाम्बलं विद्यास्तेताचतुर्दश ॥ (cp V Purāṇa, Jiva
nanda ed, p 371),
fols 13^b & 95 नाम रूपं च भूतानां कृतानां च प्रपञ्चः (प्रवर्तनं, fol 95) ।
वेदशब्देन्य (त्य fol 95) एवादौ प्रथमस्तथा च निर्ममे
(स्वाद्य निर्मल, fol 95) ॥ (cp V Purāṇa p 50),
fol 141^a एको वेदश्चतुष्पादः साष्टासमितः ।
पुनर्दशगुणं प्रोक्तो यजो वै सर्वकामधुक् ॥ (cp V Purāṇa
p 358)

III The Bhagavad gītā is quoted in the following cases —(sic)

- fol 23^b देवान् भावयतानेन ते भूता भावयन्तु व । (III 11)
fol 25^a त्रैगुण्यविषया भेदाः । (II, 45)
fol 172^a यज्ज्ञाद्भव पर्जन्यः । (III, 14)

IV There are many quotations taken from the Nirukta of Yāska. It is not necessary to give them here. But there is one quotation (अपि द्युतिः, अपि तर्कतः) which is important in so far as it is taken from the 12th Varga of the 13th Adhyāya which is regarded as the परिशिष्ट of the Nirukta and as such a later accretion. The quotation shows clearly that as early as the seventh century A D the परिशिष्ट was regarded as a part of the Nirukta. The passage of the Commentary which contains that quotation is as follows —(sic)

In connection with the quotations from the Vārttikapāṭha it is worth noticing that the reading of some of the Vārttikas does not quite agree with that of the Kāśikā e.g. (sic)

fol 30^c इदमेदोरन्वादेणे एनदिति नपुमकैकवचने । (cp Kāśikā on II 1 34)

fol 40^r वृत्तीयाविधाने प्रकृत्यादिषु उपसङ्ख्यानम् । (cp Kāśikā on II, 3 18)

fol 60^r सर्वस्य द्वे इत्यधिकारे कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनान्न समासवन्तवङ्गल यदा न समासवत्प्रथमैकवचनं तदा पूर्वपदस्य स्त्रीनपुमकयोरुत्तरपदस्य बाभाव इति । (cp Kāśikā on VIII 1 12)

fol 61^a कविधौ सर्वत्र प्रसारिभ्यो डा वङ्गव्य इति ।

(It is noteworthy that the last Vārttika does not occur at all in the Kāśikā cp Kāśikā and Śabda-kaustubha on III 2 3)

fol 180^r यदायद्योर्निङ उपसङ्ख्यानम् । (cp Kāśikā on III 3, 147)

Besides this, there are some occasional observations or remarks of the author on grammatical points, which do not quite agree with the Kāśikā Some instances are —(sic)

fol 42^c विश्राट्य अय्ययमिति योगविभागाद्वा तिष्ठधादिषु वा दृष्टव्य ।

fol 46^r असुररक्षमेभ्य आसगादिति सवन्वासीतो पचमौ । विभाषा गुणेश्वित्या-मित्यत्र योगविभागात् लुयोगाप्रख्यानानादिति ।

fol 154^r द्वितीये कालमिति माद्यन्त्र पूर्णमास पौर्णमास । उक्त्वा प्रकरणे तस्मिन्वर्तत इति न च यज्ञादिभ्य उपसङ्ख्यानम् । पूर्णमासादण् पूर्णमा पूर्णमासो वास्या वर्तत इति पौर्णमासी । (cp Kāśikā on IV 2 21),

fol 154^r अमागच्छो गृहवचनम् । सहाये वा । गृह चान्द्रमस आदित्यमण्डल इति अमावास्या । (cp Kāśikā on III, 1, 122),

fol 158^r अमा गृहे वसत्यस्यामिति अमावास्या ।

Both the above facts are I think, enough to show that the author did not utilize the Kāśikā Vrtti which was composed about 650 A D , cp *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* by Dr Belvalkar, p 35

In this connection it is also worth noticing that a few passages occurring in the Commentary which look like Vārttikas, are not to be found either in the Mahābhāṣya or in the Kāśikā Whether they are taken from some other source or are Harisvāmī's own observations, in the form of Vārttikas it is difficult to ascertain For instance, cp (sic)

fol 52^r वैष्णव्या विष्णुमर्हन्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ण्यत् प्रत्यय उपसङ्ख्येय ।
कुत एतदर्हार्थे ण्यत् इति यज्ञिये ऋ इति अर्हार्थे पर्यायदर्शनात् ।

पुरष्क्रिया पुराकाले व्यवधारणकल्पना ।

उपदेशाच्च निर्देश उपदेशो निर्देशन ।

उपक्रमेय प्रसिद्धाक्ति दूरस्वावेक्षणोद्घने । (fol 3^a)

. एते पचचत्वारिंशद्वान्तरभेदा वाक्यस्य । (fol 5^a)

In connection with this quotation it is noteworthy that the stanza हेतुनिर्वचन, etc is quoted in the Sāvara bhāṣya on II, 1, 33 and is there referred to a vittikāra Cp also Sāvara-bhāṣya on II, 1, 38 for प्रश्न, etc mentioned above In this connection, cp also Suśruta (VI, 65), Caraka (VIII, 12), Brhaddevatā (I, 35-39) and the Artha śāstra of Kautilya (the last section) It is evident that the above quotation is from a very old authority

2 On fol 8^b occurs —(sic)

मान शास्त्र क्रियामय फल बोधार्थगोचर ।

भदो विधिनिषेधादिधर्मादिरर्थत ।

3 On fol 10^a occurs —(sic)

यथोक्त मार्गो ते ज्ञानकर्माणी ।

4 On fol 32^b occurs —(sic)

ब्राह्मण ब्रह्मविरित्यादिषु स्मृतिष्वपि गीयते ज्ञान(=ज्ञान)कर्मसमुच्चय ।

5 On fol 35^a is quoted —(sic)

अष्टाध्याय्या मध्ये नाम तत्तत्रैवोपसृह्यत ।

6 On fol 63^b is given —वर्णानां ब्राह्मणं वेद्य ।

In spite of the fact, already noticed, that the author is, generally speaking, very indefinite in specifying the sources of his quotations, he sometimes mentions his authorities The important authorities which I could notice are as follows —

वादरायणादिभि, अष्टाध्यायी (of Pāṇini), वृत्त्यादिषु (of Vyākaraṇa, cp fol 5^a), भगवान् यास्क or यास्काचार्य, मन्वादिस्मृतियोगस्मृतय इतिहासपुराणे (sic, fol 14^a), सूत्रकार (=कात्यायन), कात्यायन, सूत्रे (=त्रैतसूत्र of Kātyāyana), जैमिनि, स्मृति, स्मृतिषु (cp fol 172^a), पौराणिका (cp fol 84^b), नैयायिक—(cp fol 59^b), यादृता (sic, cp तत्तच्च सुखमेवाग्रे सर्वदेवतात्वमिति यादृता, fol 150^b)

A few times some तार्किका are referred to by the author The manner in which they are referred to evidently shows that they are different from the traditional Naiyāyikas They seem to represent a school of Vedic interpreters who apparently used to give more or

prove the authenticity of the stanza which assigns the composition of the work to 639 A D

Before finishing this paper it would not be out of place to give here a few passages from the Commentary which might throw some light on the locality, etc of the author They are —

fol 56^b आर्यावर्तापेक्षया यो पूर्वापरौ समुद्रौ, etc

fol 76^b भरभो जरप इति लोके प्रसिद्धः । I am told that this word is still used in Rajputana

fol 105^a सौगिरिमा आर्यावर्ते समिद्धिता नद्योऽतिक्रामन् ददात् । सदा नीरनाम्नी नदी उत्तराद् गिरिर्हिमवतो निर्गच्छति । न विन्ध्यादे । या गण्डकीत्याचक्षते ।

A comparison of these passages with the stanza

नागसामिमुतोऽवन्या पाराशर्यो वसन्हरि ।

श्रुत्यर्थं द्यो^{*}तयामास गन्तित पौष्करीयक ॥

already quoted, shows that the author was very likely a native of pushkar near Ajmer

HARADATTA MISRA AND HARADATTA SIVĀCĀRYA

S S SURYANARAYAN SHASTRI

The name of Haradatta Misra is familiar to students of Sanskrit sacerdotal literature, by the commentaries on the Ekāgni-Kānda, and the Āpastamba Dharma and Gilya Sūtras. Students of Sanskrit Grammar are also familiar with an author of the same name, who wrote the *Padamañjarī*, a commentary on the *Kāśīlā-Vṛtti*. An attempt has been made by those responsible for the Mysore edition of the commentaries on the Ekāgni-Kānda and the Āpastamba-Dharma Sūtras, to show that the writer of these commentaries was no other than the author of the *Padamañjarī*. 'This doubt as to the identity,' it is said, 'will be set at rest by a comparison of the subjoined extract from the *Padamañjarī* with the commentary on Dharma Sūtra I, 3, 17, the latter merely reiterating the unique view which the author of the *Padamañjarī* holds as to the elongation of the final vowel in the name of the person addressed and the addition of an *a* to it in *pratyabhivādana*'¹ Then follows an extract from the commentary on the *Kāśīlā Vṛtti* on Pāṇini Sūtra VIII, 2, 83. The evidence thus offered is fairly strong being founded on a peculiar view, though there is only one instance of it, and the identification has not been refuted up to now.² The identity of the commentators on the Ekāgni Kānda with the author of the *Ujvalā*, the commentary on the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtras, seems to admit of little, if any, doubt.³ A consideration of the invocation in the two works, consisting in each case of two lines, the first line,

¹ *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtras*, with Haradatta's *Ujvalā*, Mysore edition, p. 11

² The mere unacknowledged citation of a commentary in another work is a very unsafe guide to the identification of the two authors. Thus, Appayya Dikṣita, in the *Sūādvaita Nirnaya* (p. 67, text, Madras University edition), quotes freely from Haradatta's *Ujvalā* on the Sūtras in II, 9, 23 and 24 [This is certainly an earlier use of Haradatta's work than the reference to it by the author of the *Īramitrodaya*, who, according to Bühler, wrote in the beginning of the seventeenth century and was probably the oldest writer on law to quote Haradatta (See Sacred Books of the East, II, p. 111)]

³ See Ekāgni Kānda, with Haradatta's commentary, Mysore edition, p. 15

commentary on Haradatta's work, the inference seems justified that the whole account was made up after the time of the Kondarīdu Sivalinga-bhūpa, and grafted on to the Purāṇa. The middle of the fifteenth century A D is thus the lower limit for Haradatta Sivācārya.

But it is possible to fix that limit even much higher. One of the minor works of Haradatta is the *Pañca-ratna-mālīlā* a collection of five verses, with the usual theme of the absolute supremacy of Śiva. It is said that a Cola prince possibly Kulottunga I insisted on all learned men subscribing to the supremacy of Śiva if they could not refute it in argumentation. Hearing of Rāmānuja, the great Vaiṣṇava protagonist, the king sent word to him too to come and subscribe. One of the most loyal of Rāmānuja's disciples was Kūreśa. Fearing harm for his preceptor at the hands of such an unscrupulous (!) king the pupil personated the master, went to the king's court, and undertook to controvert the arguments in favour of Śiva's supremacy. A work known as the *Kūreśavijaya* purports to be an account of what Kūreśa said on that occasion. His arguments are directed, point by point, against those of the *Pañca-ratna-mālīlā*.⁸ The latter work and its author must then have been contemporaneous, at the latest with Rāmānuja. That is to say, they should have belonged to the eleventh or the very early part of the twelfth century A D.⁹

Grounds of parsimony may suggest an identification of Haradatta Misra with Haradatta Sivācārya, especially since there is no conflict between the periods to which the two have to be assigned, and the former too appears to have been a Śaiva (as witness his 'pranipatya mahādevam', etc.)¹⁰ There does not seem to be, however

⁸ The evil king would not accept defeat in argument, it is said, and insisted on Kūreśa's subscribing to the inscription, *Sivāt parataram nāsti*. Kūreśa replied with the irreverent quip, *dronam asti tataḥ param*. The furious king had Kūreśa's eyes put out. Rāmānuja himself had fled the kingdom at the earnest persuasion of his disciples, and it was in exile that he received the news of what had happened to his beloved Kūreśa. There is no doubt that Rāmānuja was away from the Cola country for some considerable time, at the Court of the King Bittideva, who became a Vaiṣṇava under the influence of Rāmānuja, and took on the name of Viṣṇuvardhana.

⁹ See further *The Śivādharma of Śrīlantha*, pp 69-72.

¹⁰ The identification was actually made by the late MM T Ganapati Sāstrin in his preface to the *Āśialāyana Grhya Sūtras*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No 78, p 1.

tions 'sa brahma sa Śivas sa Haris sa'ndras so ksaiah parama svarāt' The appeal to another recension is likely to be more convincing, while it is by no means unusual¹⁴ The Ujvalā-kāra could not therefore have been the same as the author of the *Sruti-sūktī-mālā*

The whole argument however, rests on an error of Bühler in tracing the mantras to the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka The mantras are there, no doubt, in the Āndhra recension, but the Ujvalā-kāra is thinking of them, as present not there but in the Ekāgni-Kānda¹⁵ Here too the mantras occur in the same order, while the parisevana mantras referred to in II, 2 3, 17 occur *only* in the Ekāgni-Kānda, not in the Mahānārāyaṇa¹⁶ Bühler's inference as to Āpastambha being an Āndhra is thus ill-founded, since neither he nor his commentator would seem to have had anything in mind but the mantra-prasna The mantrapāṭha was naturally known to Haradatta Śivācārya, who draws from that, too, some arguments for his favourite theme

It is, indeed, in the use made of the Ekāgni-Kānda that one seems to find definite indications of two Haradattas The author of the *Sruti-sūktī-mālā* appeals to the Īsāna bah mantras¹⁷ and to a mantra¹⁸ used at the upanayana ceremony, as indicating the supremacy of Śiva The commentary on the Ekāgni-Kānda does not mention the supremacy of Śiva, in either case Further, while the *Sruti-sūktī-mālā* treats Śiva as the adhvapati (mentioned in the upanayana ceremony), the commentator, Haradatta takes the word to mean the Sun¹⁹ What is, perhaps, more significant is the

¹⁴ As witness the interpretation of 'na tasya prānā utkrāmantī' in the light of the reading of the other recension na tasmāt prānā utkrāmantī'

¹⁵ Ete hi mantrāḥ mantrapāṭhe pathitāḥ It is the Ekāgni Kānda that is known as the mantrapāṭha or mantraprasna

¹⁶ See Ekāgni Kānda with Haradatta's commentary, Mysore edition, p 2

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp 173-177

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p 91 adhvānām adhvapate śreṣṭhasyā 'dhvanah pāram aśīya

¹⁹ *Ibid* Suryā' aham tvat prasādāt śreyaskarasya brahmacāryamārgasva paryantam aśnuvīya. Sudarśanācārya understands a reference to Śiva, the Supreme Being, who is the Lord of the six adhvās, as being beyond them, that the Supreme Being is beyond the adhvās is testified to by Śruti, which declares the released one to attain to what is beyond the adhvās, so 'dhvanah pāram āpnoti (*Katha Upaniṣad*)

THE *DHVANYĀLOKA* AND THE TEXT OF THE *DHVAṆIKĀRIKĀS*

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‘न वादिनिग्रह कार्यो न शिष्यानुग्रहोऽपि च ।’

The generally accepted view that the basic *Kāṛiṭās* contained and commented on in Ānandavardhan's celebrated work, the *Dhvanyāloka*, were composed by an earlier writer, who has chosen to remain anonymous and whom it has been the fashion amongst scholars to call the *Dhvaṇīkāra*, was challenged some years ago, amongst others, by Dr A Sankaran of Madras¹, who still persists in his view, as represented in his recently published work, *Theories of Rasa and Dhvani*². He regards the arguments adduced by the upholders of the old view as insufficient and unconvincing and places some facts which he thinks would turn the scale and establish the identity of the *Dhvaṇīkāra* with Ānandavardhana. At the outset we must make it clear that the printing of the *Dhvanyāloka* with the *Locanā* in the *Kāvya-mālā* edition has been done in a most slipshod manner and it is this that has contributed, in no small a degree, to accentuate differences in view amongst scholars. Abhinavagupta, who by no means is the earliest commentator³ on the totalised work, the *Dhvanyāloka*, in his *Locanā*, has, in several instances,⁴ shown us the proper text of the *Kārikās* which read differently and appear in distorted form in the printed text. Moreover, there are traceable in the *Vṛtti* work and in the commentary definite grounds which

¹ *The Authorship of the Dhvaṇīkārīkās* (Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras pp 85-89)

² Or, *Aspects of Literary Criticism* Madras University Publication, 1930

³ There was an earlier commentator, the Candrikākāra, whose commentary is referred to by Mahimabhatta in the introductory verses to his *Vyaltivivēka*, as well as by Abhinava himself किं लोचनं विनाऽल्लोको भाति चन्द्रिकयापि हि । p 60, also pp 36 123 124, 136, 140, 142 43, 157, 173 201, 205 206) Some or all these references may be to the *Candrikā*

⁴ e.g. I 3 (vide *Locanā*, p 13) p 23 (S K De—Text of *Kāvya-loka-locanā* Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University)

is, therefore not to be surprised at that authors like Mahimabhāṭṭa, Mammāṭa, and Viśvanātha did not often discriminate between the *Dhvanīlāra* and Ānanda. Of the *ālanīlāras* Rājasekhara,¹⁹ who comes nearest to Ānanda in point of time ascribes a *parīkṣasloka* and not a *Kāṛilā* to Ānanda and this does not disturb our position. The same arguments would apply to the cases of Kuntaka²⁰ and Kṣemendra,²¹ (with modifications as apparent from the above) so much relied on by Dr Sankaran.

But the quotation from the *Abhinavabhāratī*, relied on by Dr Sankaran,²² cannot, it may be urged, be so easily disposed of. The *Kāṛilā* सुनिद्वचन (III, 16 in the NS edition) is, in our view, a genuine *Kāṛilā*, forming the text of the original *Dhvanīlāras*. We have already referred to Abhinava's doubts in the matter of the fixing of the text and, moreover it is quite conceivable that he was relying on his memory (for Abhinava as we have indicated admits and accepts the fact that some views were incorporated in the *Dhvanyāloka*, which owed their parentage to Ānanda himself),—and what man is infallible? We have such cases of erroneous ascription by illustrious masters in other departments of Sanskrit learning. To come nearer to our subject Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpana* (Chap VI, page 316, Jivānanda's edition)²³ ascribes a *Kāṛilā* to Dharmika, which he should have ascribed to Dharmajaya, for Dharmajaya is the reputed author of the *Kāṛilā* text and Dharmika that of the *Trti* text of the *Dasarupala*. Here, too, as in the case under

¹⁹ *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p 16 व्युत्पत्तिकृतो दोष (=*Dhvanyāloka*, p 137)

The preceding prose portion in the *KM* shows that the author was merely giving the substance of Ānanda's views. Or was Rājasekhara quoting from the unknown work *Tattvāloka* of Ānanda, referred to in *Locanā* on IV (Iide the *Text of Kāvyāloka locanā* IV p 17—edited by S K De)

²⁰ *Alrokyūta*, p 89 (2nd edition) Here also as in a discussion of the same question in the *Yatruvela*, the term ध्वनिकार has been loosely used for ध्वन्यालोककार.

²¹ III 24 of *Dhvanyāloka* (printed edition), cited on the *Aucityavāracaryā*

²² एतद्वोपजीव्यान्वर्धनाचार्येणोक्तम् सुनिद्वचनेत्यादि The remarks noted in this connection in the body of this paragraph apply *mutatis mutandis* in the case of Kuntaka and Kṣemendra.

²³ The *Sahityadarpana*'s reference to ध्वनिकार and ध्वनिकार includes references to Chapter V, pp 9, 13, 15, 16, 205, 220, 223. The confusion between the *Dhvanīlāra* and Ānandavardhana occurs in a couple of cases and similarly explained.

tion of *Dhvan* noticed in I, 13 (यत्रार्थं शब्दो वा तमर्थमुपसर्जनीकृतस्वार्थो । व्यङ्ग्यकाव्यविशेष स ध्वनिरितिसूत्रिभि कथित ॥) or in the prosaic *Kārikā* (III 44)—स गुणोभूतव्यङ्ग्ये । पुनरप्युद्योतते वङ्गधा ॥—seems strikingly at variance with the elaborate, refined, discussion and often poetical finish of expression, as in the entire fourth *uddiyota* and the manner of carrying a discussion over the same in I, 20 and 21. It appears to us that the entire fourth *uddiyota* is more likely than not an apocryphal work so far as the original *Dhvanikārikās* are concerned. Here it is that the use of halting forms and enclitic particles, of poetic similes and analogies is carried to a limit far exceeding that of a technical work, untrammelled by considerations of matter and content. A favouritism for certain words³³ and for restricted meanings of them evinces itself in the portion which we would ascribe to Ānanda. Excepting the introductory *Kārikā*, composed in the *Sārdulavikrīḍita* and two verses composed in the *upajāti*, which certainly form a part of the original work, the *Kārikās* of the Dhvanikāra are composed in *anustubh* and *āryā*, the former being preponderant in number. Ānanda-vaidhana's additions are all in the form of *anustubh* verses, excepting in the last three *Kārikās*, the fourth *uddiyota*, composed in the *raho dḍhatā mālinī* and the *sikharinī*, rather unusual metres for the true *Kārikā* form. It may be noted in passing that in the apocryphal portion Ānanda has tried to escape detection by explaining the words in the *Kārikās* in the *vitti* following, exactly as if they are others composition, in the manner we find illustrated, e.g. in the *Valok tijivita*.

We can now sum up our conclusions thus —In the verse-forms of expression in the text of the *Dhvanyāloka*, excepting, of course, illustrations and authoritative citations definitely so mentioned, we find three different categories of matter —

- (i) The original *Kārikās* of the Dhvanikāra, which, all told, would come up to not more than ninety in number and end with III, 51 of the printed edition.
- (ii) The *samgrahasloka parikarasloka* (vide explanation in Loeanā, p. 34) and *antaraslokas* (for explanation of which term we have to look to Hemacandra's *Kavyānuśāsanavivēka* (p. 392 in the *Kāvya-mālā* edition),

³³ e.g. विषय, गुणवृत्ति, स्वरलङ्घति, प्रतिभा (used in a special sense I 15—as opposite to the ordinary sense as in I 6, IV 1, 6)

BHRNGADŪTAM—A NEW KHANDA KĀVYA

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1 *Introduction* The main purpose of this paper is to bring before scholars some interesting points of information about Bhrngadūtam—a recently found work of the Dūta-literature type. But before that, we propose to make some general observations on the Dūta-literature itself.

2 *General remarks on the Dūta literature* The poetical works in the Sanskrit literature are divided into दृश्यकाव्य, and श्रव्यकाव्य, of them, the latter is further divided into Mahākāvyas and Khanda-kāvyas. The chief difference between a Mahākāvya and Khanda-kāvya is that in the latter, the author takes up a particular event and deals with it in a comparatively limited scope, while the author of a Mahākāvya has to take up a plot consisting of a number of smaller events. The rhetoricians have laid down rules about the size of, and the subjects dealt with in, a Mahākāvya. There are several things which must find their place in the descriptive part of a Mahākāvya.¹ The writer of a Khanda-kāvya has got this advantage that he is not required to describe all these things, he takes up a particular theme of his own choice and exercises his poetic imagination. In this way, a poet can show the best of his poetic talents in a Khanda-kāvya. To judge the real merits of a poet, we should, therefore, look at his Khanda-kāvyas, if any, there we will find the height of his poetic conception and imaginative faculty.

Meghadūta of Kālidāsa is unique in the Sanskrit literature in so far as it had led many later poets to imitate it. This very fact is a living proof of the excellence and intrinsic worth of Kālidāsa's

¹ Cf. साहित्यदर्पण (6 322 4)

सध्यासूर्येन्दुरजनीप्रदीपध्वान्तवासरा ।
प्रातर्मध्याह्नसृग्गया शैलर्जुवनसागरा ।
सम्भोगविप्रलम्भौ च सुनिर्गुरुराध्वरा ।
रणप्रयाणोपयम-मन्त्रपुत्रोदयादय ।
वर्णनीया यथायोगम् etc

of incorporating a line or lines of all the verses of Meghadūta has immensely helped the preservation of the text and rejecting later interpolations¹

3 *Bhṛṅgadūtam—a recently found Duta lāvyā* There are already two works² belonging to the Dūta literature, which have identical or similar names. One of these, भृङ्गसन्देश or धनरसन्देश is composed by Vāsudeva, a court-poet of Ravi-Varmā the ruler of Calcut. In this work, the speaker sends a message to his wife who has been separated from him by a यक्ष. It contains 192 verses. There is another work named धनरदूत composed by Rudra Nyāya-Vācaspati. In this work, Rāma sends a message to Sitā in Lankā through a bee. The work, which we are going to describe,³ has for its theme a love-message sent by a Gopī to Sṛī Kṛṣṇa through a bee.

The manuscript of the work is in private possession. The owner has kindly allowed the present writer to copy it and would be glad to allow its publication.

4 *Description of the MS* The MS is in a fairly good condition and tolerably well-written on thick paper. It is dated 1752 Vikrama Samvat=1696 A D.

“सम्पत् १७५२ वर्षे फाल्गुण (२ न) वदी (?) अष्टम्या रविवासरे ॥ ३॥

It contains 19 leaves or 37 written pages, there being 9 or 10 lines and 3 or 4 verses in each page. The MS preserves the complete text except two stanzas (77, 78) which are omitted. It is difficult to account for this omission. After the 76th stanza, we get directly a stanza numbered 79th. Perhaps it is due to the scribe's mistake. The scribe of the work is one Rāmakṛṣṇa, resident of Sūkara-Ksetra.

अलेखि रामकृष्णेन सूकरक्षेत्रवासिना ।

पुस्तक भृङ्गदूतस्य धर्मकामार्थसिद्धये ॥ (in the end)

He seems to have been an incompetent scribe. He makes no difference at places between ण and न, श and स, ज and य, व and ब. Shortening and lengthening of vowels against metre are also seen. Omission and substitution of letters have made it difficult to restore the original text in several cases. The verse (56) has been misnumbered as (65). Sometimes consonants are reversed (e g पलटी for पटली).

¹ See the Introductions of Meghadūta as edited by Pathak and Hultsch.

² See p. 279 (Ind. Hist. Quarterly), Vol. III, No. 2.

³ This work has not been noticed by Mr. Chakravarti.

1696 A D , the date of the MS The fact that the MS was written in Sūkara-ksetra, and that various details are given about व्रजभूमि indicates that the author may have lived, at least for some time, in the Western U P

7 *The work proper* The work contains 126 verses in Mandākrāntā metre Unlike Meghadūta there are no पूर्वभाग and उत्तरभाग divisions in the work All the verses go to form one unit—the work itself The last stanza¹ is in Upajāti metre and states the names of the author and the work

8 *Subject-matter* A Gopī in artificial anger (प्राप्तमानान्तराया) has quarrelled with Śrī Kṛṣṇa and spends a restless night The following morning, she sees, near by, a bee humming merrily on the opening lotus flowers With big tears in her sleep-idle eyes, she breathes a heavy sigh and asks the bee to take her message to her lover Śrī Kṛṣṇa The way shown to the messenger is not exactly one which the messenger must follow to reach his destination What our author aims at is to mention and describe the various scenes of व्रजभूमि which are of great interest to the Gopī and other devotees of Śrī Kṛṣṇa The bee is asked to go first to the house of Nanda (यादि नन्दस्य गेहम्) The garden, the Mālatī-bower, scents of amorous spouts (कामक्रीडापरिमल), the arch—all these are admirably described Then comes the Royal avenue (राजवीथी), where beautiful damsels are seen hurrying to their lovers' places and heart attracting ball games (कन्दुकक्रीडा) are being played Reaching Gokul through a spacious gate, the messenger is to see the image of Ganeśa in the court yard, and the worship of Rohini He is advised to enjoy the playing on musical instruments and the amorous dance in honour of the deity Thence he goes to the way leading to the Yamunā river and listens to the witty and confidential talks of the ladies who have gone there to fetch water He is to keep himself aloof from these temptations and proceed on his undertaken errand Now comes the temple of वाग्देवता (the goddess of speech) by whose grace even the animals can compose excellent poetic lines² This is followed by a very beautiful description of Lord Śiva's temple (कैलाशधाम)

¹ Quoted above

² अन्येनैव स्फुरितमतयो यत्प्रसादेन कुर्युः ।

तिर्यक्षोऽपि लरितमनस्यन्दिनी स्तुतिरेखा ॥

(Verse 40)

एतत्कृत्वा मधुकरभवानीक्षित मे दयावान्

दृष्टे दृष्ट्वावनसुमनसा नित्यमानन्दमेतु ।

प्राप्यामीदप्रसरस्तुभगामच्युतस्यानुवेल

वल्लगद्गुह्यी रणितमुखरा वैजयन्तीसुपास्ताम् ॥

These few instances, quoted by way of *स्खलौपुलाकन्याय*, should suffice to show the close similarity

There are two important features in which *Bhṛṅgadūta* stands in marked contrast with *Meghadūta*. In *Bhṛṅgadūta*, the interest of the poet lies in describing the various scenes of *व्रजभूमि*. The separation of the *Gopī* from her lover is not caused by any external agency, as is found in the case of *Kuvera* in *Meghadūta*. Naturally there is no need of mentioning and describing other cities, rivers and mountains, as the *Gopī* and *Srī Kṛṣṇa* are in the same place—the *Vrajabhūmi*. Hence no geographical description is given here.

The second important feature of *Bhṛṅgadūta* is that the conception of love depicted here is not purely human but divine. *Srī Kṛṣṇa* is not regarded as a human figure. In various places, frequent references are made to his divine aspect. In the very first line of the book he is called *पूर्णानन्दपरमपुरुष*. In the 6th verse, he is said to be *द्युतिमधुधुरान्धग्यपादारविन्द*. He is referred to as *ब्रह्मादीनामपि दिविपदा दुर्लभ, फलमविकल पुण्यकण्डमुदमस्य* (94) as *निर्वाणहेतु* (120). He is said to be *सिद्धहेमाञ्जन* for *ससारक्लमविहन्ति*. In the 89th verse, the messenger is warned that he should not regard those damsels playing with *Srī Kṛṣṇa* as ordinary human beings. They are said to have descended on the earth to serve Lord *Viṣṇu* in the form of *Srī Kṛṣṇa*.

So here we have got what is called *पतिपत्नीभाव* of *भक्तिमार्ग* (Conjugal love aspect of the Path of Devotion). In the Indian thought of the Mediaeval period, there were three main currents of *भक्तिमार्ग* (Path of Devotion), *मित्रभाव* (companion aspect) as in the works of *Sūradāsa*, *दासभाव* (servant-aspect) as in the works *Tulasidāsa*, and *पतिपत्नीभाव* (conjugal love aspect) as in the works of *Mīrābāī*. It is the last path of serving God that finds expression in the utterances of the *Gopī*. She says in verse 122 that she has no faith in the dry doctrines of *Vedānta* and final absorption in the absolute, what she desires most fondly is that she should come in personal contact with her Master and serve Him with speech, mind, and body.

- (v) अस्मादस्मत्सदनसविधाद्याहि नन्दस्य गेह
प्रत्यासन्नोपवनपवनानीतमाकन्दगन्ध ।
गायन्तीना कुवलयदृश कृष्णमाकर्णयन्ती
यत्रोद्गीत निवसति सखी नित्यमोदा यशोदा ॥

Besides the difficulty of taking कृष्णम् in the sense कृष्णचरितम् and dragging उद्गीतम् the object of आकर्णयन्ती from the fourth पाद the word सखी used as an epithet of यशोदा (Mother of Sītā Kṛṣṇa, the lover of गोपी) is simply revolting. In the 15th verse,¹ however the poet uses देवी as an epithet of यशोदा.

अल परदोषोद्भावनेन As we have already said, the work is not devoid of poetic excellence. We shall bring this paper to a close by quoting a few good verses from the book.

- (iii) सयौकान्त किमपि कुपित सापराधे जनैःस्मिन्
सत्सन्देशान्मधुप भवता साधवोऽप्य प्रसाद्य ।
तदायास्व दयित सुमनोदन्त्यन्दावनान्त
यस्मिन् गोपैर्विहरति सम वल्लभो वल्लवीनाम् ॥
- (120) लज्जा लूना कुलमगणित लङ्घिता मानमुद्रा
भग्न शील भय(?)मपहृत धिक्कृती धर्मसेतु ।
यद्यदुदृष्ट प्रियमिति मया तत्तदत्याजि सर्वं
त्वामैवैक गणमधुना यामि निर्वाणहेतुम् ॥

These may be regarded as good instances of प्रसादगुण. Below, I am quoting below beautiful stanzas as they reveal the poets' power of simple description.

- (15) साय साय सह सहचरै रौरभेयीसमृद्धान्
अन्वायान्त सुतमतिमुदा यत्र देवी यशोदा ।
रत्नादीपावलिबलिकरा रत्तिताशेषलोक
प्रत्युद्याति प्रहृतहृदया प्रसुताभ्या स्तनाभ्याम् ॥
- (23) सिन्दूरार्द्रं शिरसि दधती शेखर मौक्तिकाना
मन्थारागादुपनतमिव ज्योतिषा चक्रवालम् ।
बन्धानित्या व्रजयुवतिभिर्वैजयन्तीं दधाना
बन्धूकाना यदजिरगता भाति हेरम्बमूर्ति ॥
- (31) सेकस्त्रिंश चिकुरनिकर सयताम दधानो
सुक्त पद्यान्मृगमदरसामोदिकाग्रीरलेप ।
हस्तन्यस्तै कनककलशैरञ्जपत्रातपत्रै
कालिन्देय नयति सलिल यत्र कन्यानिकाय ॥

Section of Philology

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THE INDO EUROPEAN HOMELAND A RESTATEMENT OF THE QUESTION

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One of the most fascinating branches of the science of Linguistics is that known as *Urgeschichte* of Linguistic Palæontology. It deals with the prehistoric antiquities and culture of the people who had been the speakers of the family of the languages being investigated. And one of the questions that comes up in this connection is that of the original home from which these language streams have first started. For the Indo European languages this problem is of very special interest to us.

During my student days I was very much struck by the great variety of opinions about this point held by scholars of very great reputation and I could not quite see my way through all these mutually contradictory theories. It may be just as well to give a short summary of the various views held and then I would proceed to explain how these varied opinions arose.

I believe it was Max Muller who first gave serious attention to this question and he propounded what is known as the 'Central-Asian Homeland' theory. It held ground for some years in Europe and for a good deal longer in India.¹ Then Dr Latham of King's College, Cambridge, came out with the idea that the Homeland was to be sought somewhere in Scandinavia. Other theories followed proposing the south-eastern shores of the Baltic,² various parts of Germany and other European lands. Among these latter the theory most widely accepted at present is that proposed by Prof Dr O Schrader of the University of Breslau, who in his famous book *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* has declared the lower course of the river Volga as the most likely homeland. And quite recently

¹ This is partly due to the reason that we in India, as Asiatics would like to have the ancient home nearer our part of the world. Europeans on the other hand, since the time of Latham, have been almost solidly for a European home.

² The reason for this was that Lithuanian the I. E. language spoken in that part, shows the most primitive type of structure among the modern I. E. languages.

I feel also that in all these investigations sufficient attention has not been paid to the mutual connections between the various languages of the I-E family. Too much attention is paid to names of plants and animals and to various words of material culture and practically none at all to the grammatical relationships between the languages themselves. These last are very valuable in showing which languages of the I-E family have been long in contact with one another. The first great division of this family is into the *satam* and the *centum* groups. This is a very significant point as this division corresponds, of course roughly, to the geographical division of Asiatic and European.

Another point which is almost always ignored in these investigations is that about the local distribution of land and water in any particular locality at the period which we are discussing. This period should carry us back quite 10,000 years if not more, and though the continents and the oceans were then very much as they are now, still in any particular locality the chief features of the landscape were substantially different. Of course theoretically all workers admit the importance of this point, but in actual practice it is mostly forgotten.

Closely associated with this local difference is the change of climate. The climate of those ancient days was very appreciably different in particular localities from what it is now. But still we find scholars arguing as if there was no difference and that consequently the population of a locality had always been as sparse as it is now.

While considering the various theories advanced for the 'ancient home' (the *Urheimat*) I have come deliberately to the conclusion that they are all correct in one respect, viz. that the locality pointed out was indeed for some considerable time a centre of the I-E peoples.¹ In other words, these various localities pointed out were rather sub-centres or halting places of various branches during their migrations.² While the *Urheimat* was quite different.

¹ I attach no ethnological significance to this phrase. I mean merely the people (of any race whatsoever) who speak one of the I-E languages.

² Tilak has suggested that the lands enumerated in the first chapter of the *Vendidad* might actually indicate in their order the actual route of the Iranian migration from the original Polar home to their final settlement in Western Iran at Ragha (Rae).

to the sun it is required that the sun should be visible well above the horizon. And in the Polar regions the sun is below the horizon for weeks at a time. And the description 'until the birds begin to fly', etc. has been clearly understood by an ancient commentator to mean the return of the Spring. In parts of modern Persia the winters are indeed severe, and a blizzard of exceptional severity may hold up a funeral for two or three days, but never for weeks at a time as has been contemplated in the passages quoted.

3 The destruction of Airyana Vaēja by ice and snow has been very clearly described in the second chapter of the *Vendīdād*. The passages are so clear and their meaning so undisputed that it seems a wonder why the obvious conclusion about a Polar Home has been overlooked. The only explanation seems to be the ineradicable preconception that the polar regions have always been uninhabitable and that Airyana Vaēja could not be anything other than modern Iran. In this second chapter, the Legend of Yima, the son of Vivanghvat (Yama Vaivasvata) is given. He is reputed to have ruled for long ages in great splendour and magnificence. So prosperous were his people, and so greatly did they multiply that three times they had to seek other homes and to migrate. And every time they migrated southwards. From the North Polar regions all directions are necessarily south. Then when 800 years of Yima's reign had passed Ahuramazda invited him and his counsellors to a conference on the banks of the Vehdāti, and addressed him thus:

'O Yima, thou fair son of Vivanghvat, upon this wicked corporeal world will descend winters, and through shall come fierce deadly cold. Upon this wicked material world shall come winters and through these shall fall first of all deep snow extending from the high mountain tops to the depths of the waters¹

'And all the three kinds of animals here, O Yima, shall disappear, those which live in the most terrific wildernesses, and those which live on the tops of mountains, and those which live (domesticated) in the river valleys (even though protected) in well-built stalls.

'Before the cold there is (at present) in this land the production of food, and there is water in plenty for its irrigation after the melting of the (winter's) snow. But (later on), O Yima, the land here shall

¹ The translation is here somewhat disputed. The word used here is *areduya* [gen. sg. of *aredvi* (the waters)]. Apparently the deep sea is meant. See my *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian*, p. I, 1, 232.

and describes it in some detail. That the Indian tradition also supports this view has been amply demonstrated by Tilak and I need not here recapitulate his arguments.

An objection may be raised at this stage and we may be asked why the names of the cities, rivers and mountains mentioned in this ancient tradition are found in Modern Iran. Here we have to deal with a fundamental emotion of the human being, the love of the homeland. Englishmen have colonised all over the world and wherever they have gone they have carried with them the beloved names of the Mother country, London and Thames, York and Cambridge, Oxford and Windsor, and many others. If, say, several thousand years hence England disappears and these English place names survive only in New Zealand, would any one be justified in saying that New Zealand was the original home of the English people. These well-loved names do contrive to survive for incredibly long ages.

We must also bear in mind that though during the Ice Age the main continents and oceans of the world were much the same as at present, still there were very considerable differences in the topography of any particular region. The region of Central Asia was very different in those days. Judging by what is known of the steadily falling level of the Caspian Sea within historical times, it would not be very wrong to say that at the period we are considering a vast sea occupied much of the area of the Central Asian steppes of to-day. Naturally the climate and consequently the fauna and flora would have been also very different from now.¹

Thus it will be seen that I regard Tilak's hypothesis to be the most likely, viz. that the I-E homeland was in the North Polar regions. The various centres indicated by the various scholars were as a matter of fact *sub centres* making the various halts during the wanderings of the various branches on their way to their homes in historical times. The first division of the I-E languages into the *satam*- and the *centum*-groups marks the two lines of migrations, one towards Asia and the other towards Europe. The former, I believe, was first stopped from further progress southwards by the great sea in Central Asia and slowly one branch moved off westwards up to the banks of the Volga, which forms the sub-centre mentioned by Schrader. The subsequent migrations² and those of the *centum*-

¹ See Ellsworth Huntington's fascinating book, *The Pulse of Asia*

² See note 2, p. 637, *Supra*

THE TERTIARY STAGE OF INDO-ARYAN

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§ 1 It has been found convenient, taking into consideration its general trend of development, to divide the history of Indo-Aryan into three Stages *Old, Middle, and New*, or, *Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary*, following Grierson in the LSI and elsewhere (where he employs the terms 'Primary Prakrits, Secondary Prakrits, and Tertiary Prakrits,' emphasising upon the colloquial character of the speech as distinguished from the literary forms of it like Vedic and Sanskrit) In a loose way we can speak of these three Stages, employing broad Indian terms, as *Sanskrit* (or *Vedic, Vaidik*), *Prakrit*, and *Bhāsā* The whole history of Indo-Aryan for some 2,500 years commencing roughly from 1500 B C and continuing down to the present day can be best surveyed as a chronological sequence only by a proper appreciation of the principles underlying this three fold division

§ 2 Grierson has briefly indicated (in the LSI, Vol I, Part 1, 1927, p 122), the characteristics of these three stages As he says, there is no difficulty in recognising the main distinctive peculiarities of each group or stage The situation I have sought to describe in some detail in my ODBL, pp 16-20 Taking phonetic alteration as the fundamental thing in spoken language, we may note briefly that the Secondary or MIA stage started with the assimilation of the consonant combinations of the Primary or OIA stage, that the MIA stage was further characterised at a later period in its history by the dropping of the stops and the weakening of the aspirates to *h* (except in the case of the cerebrals, and, in some dialects, of the palatals), and further by a modification of the intervocal -m- to -*ū* (and of -l, n- to -l, -n-), and that the Tertiary or NIA stage came in with the simplification of the assimilated double or long consonants of MIA to single or short consonants This treatment of the double consonants of MIA may be taken to be the crucial thing in considering the development of NIA Viewed from this standpoint, we might say that certain forms of NIA, or rather, certain modern

1000 B C (cf Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri, 'The Antiquity of the Rigveda' in the *Calcutta Review* for October, 1924, pp 73-74) The compilation into a Veda-book occurred some time later—in the 10th or 9th century B C, and it is unthinkable that the compilation of the hymns in even one *corpus* was possible without some system of writing, howsoever crude and merely mnemonic it might be. Judging from the yet unstereotyped and faulty and hesitating orthography of the Aśoka inscriptions, the introduction of writing among the speakers of Indo Aryan could not have been very much anterior to the 3rd or 4th century B C. (It does not matter whether the introduction was the result of an adaptation of a foreign alphabet, or whether it was the employment of an earlier, pre-Aryan system of writing for Aryan, or whether again it was an invention of a wise man among Aryan speakers themselves.) The first writing down of the Vedic hymns in a Veda-book occurred some time between composition of the latest hymns (about 1000 B C) and a few centuries before the oldest Brāhmī inscriptions—it could very well have occurred nearer 1000 B C than 500 B C. The Prakritisms could either have been present in the time of these latest hymns, or they crept in later, before or about the time of writing down the hymns. In any case, we would not be justified in taking the appearances of the MIA characteristics in any IA dialect prior to 1000 B C. The beginnings of the Secondary stage could therefore be very well taken back to the commencement of the 1st millennium B C or even to the close of the 2nd millennium. It is quite conceivable that starting in the Eastern part of the Hindustan plains, the MIA or Secondary character gradually spread into the North-West, so that by the time of Asoka even the Panjab dialects had at least partially entered into the MIA Stage. At the time of Pāṇini who might very well have been a contemporary of the Buddha the North-Western dialects were sufficiently close to the Primary or Old Indo Aryan stage as to enable a high or literary form of them to be designated as *Laukika* or 'current' or 'popular' speech by that great grammarian.

§ 4 We need not go into details of the evolution of Middle or Secondary Indo-Aryan. Suffice it to say that epigraphical evidence as well as the evidence of the early Prakrit grammar and literature would indicate that the second great phonetic change in the Secondary stage—the loss of the intervocal stops and the

conjugational system, besides a number of linguistic devices like the compound verb and the echo word, which perhaps were quite common or at least latent in the latter part of the Secondary stage. One might say that in the matter of these devices there was an assertion of the non-Aryan speech-feeling (*Sprachgefühl*) which was suppressed or stifled in the literary languages growing under the shadow of Sanskrit.

The earliest direct evidence (well-attested in both date and in faithful transmission) from the vernacular side is unfortunately very late, too late to be of use to us for giving us any indication as to when the Tertiary stage was first entered in CIA, in particular locality. There are some few fortunate languages and dialects like Marathi of which the oldest specimens in connected sentences go back to some epigraphical documents of the 12th century, and there are others like Panjabi and Gurkhal whose oldest remains belong only to the 16th and 18th centuries. The oldest MSS of works in a Western Hindi or Eastern Hindi dialect are not older than the 16th century. For Bengali, we have documents which undoubtedly go back to times before 1200 A.C., but they are preserved in late and corrupt MSS, and it is in connection with their date of composition and genuineness in retaining intact the language of their authors that the question of the development of the Tertiary stage may receive some light. In the absence of satisfactory *connected pieces of composition*, we have to fall back upon individual *words* for the period of A.C. 600 or 500–1200, which witnessed the rise of NIA. A great deal of Apabhramśa literature was produced all over Northern India during this period and later (a good *aperçu* of which we find in the Introduction to the edition of the *Bhāṣa-yatī-lahā* by C. D. Dalal and P. D. Gune, Baroda, 1923 pp. 36–47). Literary languages are consciously archaistic—so that although the NIA stage was arrived at in the spoken language during this period, the bulk of literature did not care to record the change, using by preference the olden forms. But in epigraphic and other contemporary records we frequently find unexpected forms indicating a later stage of development, and these, where they are genuinely indicative of the actual pronunciation, act as flashes of light in the midst of the surrounding darkness.

§ 6 In the earlier inscriptions, both Brāhmī and Kharosthī, there is no doubt that a rigid system of orthography was not yet in vogue

published from Paris, in 1928, his 'Chants Mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha—Les Dohākosa (en Apabhramsa, avec les Versions tibétaines) et Les Caryā (en vieux-Bengali), avec Introduction, Vocabulaires et notes,' which is one of the most noteworthy scholarly works on late MIA and early NIA published within recent years. In this work Dr Shahīdullah re-edits the Apabhramsa and Old Bengali writings of the two Siddhas, Kāṇha and Saraha as first brought out by MM Dr H P Sāstri. The comparison with the Tibetan version as in the Bstan Hgyur has enabled Dr Shahīdullah to suggest some better readings for the Apabhramsa *dohās* for the 16 Caryās (12 by Kāṇha, and 4 by Saraha) he has re edited, he did not have the checking help of any Tibetan or other version, but he has nevertheless suggested some very plausible corrections. Now, Kāṇha and Saraha as authors of these Apabhramsa as well as Old Bengali verses are taken by Dr Shahīdullah respectively to the beginning of the 8th century and of the 11th century (700 A C and 1000 A C). I have nothing to say about the date of Saraha. About Kāṇha, a number of synchronisms on the basis of Lama Tāranātha's date of 657 A C as the time of Matsyēndranātha's arrival in Nepal and of Bhartrhari's death year as given by I-tsing as 651 A C lead Dr Shahīdullah to propose 700 A C as the age of his *floruit*. It is to be carefully enquired into how far the gossiping account of Tāranātha about the advent of Matsyēndranātha into Nepal and the non-Bengali tradition making Gopīcandra (who was a contemporary of Kāṇha and a disciple of Goraksanātha) a nephew of Bhartrhari can be taken as sober history. In any case, if Kāṇha the author of the 12 Caryās really flourished about 700 A C, then that will have a great importance in settling our scheme of chronology with reference to the development of the Tertiary stage of Indo Aryan. For the 12 Caryā poems are already, in the form we find them, in the Tertiary stage—both as regards the simplification of the double consonants and the development of the new declinational and conjugational devices. So that, assuming Kāṇha's age to have been 700 A C, we shall have to admit, (i) either the Tertiary stage had been fully established before 700 A C, or (ii) the texts themselves are late, they have either been fathered on Kāṇha (and his contemporaries), or they are later alterations of earlier texts which were probably composed in a vernacular or literary speech of the (late) Secondary (MIA) stage.

The evidence is very slender, it must be confessed, too slender to build anything positive upon. But it would not warrant the assumption that there was anything like the finished Tertiary stage as early as 700 A.C. The other alternative proposed before for the age of the Carvās ascribed to Kāṇha (viz. 950-1200) seems more plausible.

§ 8. We have another and rather unexpected source of information in this matter, and this should be scrutinised. Sanskrit was studied by the Buddhists of Central Asia and China during the 1st millennium A.C., by Sogdians, Khotanese, Kuchians, Uigur Turks, Tibetans, and Chinese, and as aids to the acquirement of Sanskrit, in addition to bilingual texts (as in Kuchian), there were at least *two* short Sanskrit Chinese dictionaries dating from the 7th-8th centuries which have been found. These dictionaries were evidently much studied in China and Japan and Japanese editions were published in the 17th century. They give the Sanskrit words in 7th century North-Indian characters, with the sound transcribed in Chinese characters followed by the Chinese equivalent. These have recently been edited and published by my friend and colleague Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (*Deux Lexiques Sanskrit Chinois*, Vol. I, Paris, 1929). The first one—the *Fan Yu Ts'ien Tso Wen* by I-tsing is slightly earlier than the second (the *Fan Yu Tsa Ming*), which, dating from the 8th century, was compiled by Li Yen, a Kuchian. In these works, especially in the latter, we have a good many corrupt and Prakritic forms rather than Sanskrit. The phonology of these Prakritic forms amply demonstrates that the Sanskrit words were modified by a N-W dialect. Now these N-W dialects were originally written in the Kharosthī character, which avoided double consonants and long vowels. When the North Western speeches adopted by the 7th century the *siddha mātrikā* alphabet which is found in these dictionaries and which is developed out of the Brāhmī, it is just likely that the original style of orthography was continued. So that they could write, as in Li Yen's dictionary, *vr la* for *vrlla*, *masa*=*massa* for *smasrū*, *degga*=*diggha* for *dirgha*, *uca* for *ucca*, *vatula* for *vattula*=*vartula*, *adapi*=*adyāpi*, *lvana*=*lavanna*=**lavanda* for *lavadda*=*laparda*, *tanura* for *tannūra*=*tanlūla*, *latuka* for *latula*=*lattuka*=*laddūla*, *muga* for *mugga*=*mudga*, *sana*=*sanna*=*sanda*, *bhatāra*=*bhattāra*=*bhartā*, etc., etc. These and similar words have *ā*+one consonant, which is quite in accordance with Kharosthī orthography.

East Bengali than in West Bengali. The common New Indo Aryan sound system has suffered a very great change in East Bengali the most noteworthy being the change of the palatal affricates *c ch j jh* to dental ones (*ts, s, dz, dz'*) the alteration of the aspiration *h* to the glottal stop () and of the voiced aspirates to stops with accompanying glottal closure (*g, d [dz'] d', d' b'*), the change of *s* to *h* and the wide spread voicing of unvoiced consonants (especially *l > g, t > d, t > d*), and further, widespread spirantisation of original (i.e. Common NIA) *rs* as well as derived interior *-g-* (to *-γ-*). The voicing of unvoiced consonants as part of this phonetic change suggests the development of some of the Prakrit dialects of the second stage from Prakrit of the first stage. The dialect of Chittagong has advanced still further—it eludes single intervocal stops, and nasalises single intervocal *-m-*. The elision of intervocal stop is just what characterised first of all Mahāiāstrī, and then all Apabhramsa dialects and the second characterised all Apabhramsa. This trait of Chittagongese has been noted by all those who have published their observations on this dialect of Bengali. Thus *cākar > ṣāor, bāpu > bāu rālhen > rāhen > rāen > rān, āmod > āōd, chālī > ṣādī (Chāl mā), chotūā > sodūā jalhan > ḍahan, upāsa (< upaiāsa) > uās, dālīyā > dālī, lāgi > lāi* etc etc

§ 10 From the above we may state the position briefly as this

The Secondary stage manifested itself in IA first in the East the earliest indications of which may go back to c. 1000 B.C.

The Tertiary stage, so far as the Eastern Dialects of IA are concerned, might have appeared in East Bengal dialects in the 8th century A.C., but it appears from epigraphical evidence to have been established only during the 10th-11th centuries.

So far as the East Bengali dialects are concerned, with the voicing spirantisation, and elision of internal consonants—often the result of the modification of MIA and OIA (Secondary and Primary) double consonants and consonant groups—IA may be said to have entered a new stage, the Fourth or Quaternary stage, which is not yet manifest in the other forms of NIA. This however, has not been a free and unchecked growth—it is only in the incipient stage, the influence of the literary language and of the standard colloquial from Calcutta acting as a check preventing natural development.

But a change like *asme > amhe > āmī > āī, talīśanam > talīkhanam > talīhan > ta(h)an*, and *lagva > lagga > lāg lāgi > lāī*, does indicate that the Tertiary stage is being left behind in the advance of IA in some dialectal areas at least.

A STUDY OF TELUGU ROOTS

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1 In my lectures which I delivered under the auspices of the Madras University in 1929, I hazarded the suggestion that the Dravidian languages were only a variety of the Prakrits and adduced many points of resemblance in vocabulary and structure between them and the Prakrits. I contended on the basis of many facts which I put forth in those lectures that neither the Scythian theory of Caldwell nor the isolation theory now in the field, much less any extra-Aryan affinity of the Dravidian languages that is sometimes suggested can be maintained with any degree of probability and that scholars had so far directed their vision beyond the borders of India while a close affinity is clearly perceptible nearer home. These lectures I printed under the name of *'An Introduction to Dravidian Philology'* and the book received varying degrees of appreciation. The one outstanding criticism of the book was that it was more in the nature of a speculation and required much greater evidence to carry conviction. Of course, when I published the book, I was deeply conscious of the insufficiency of the data supplied therein, but the limitations under which those lectures were delivered would not allow me to do more than what was presented in them. I take this opportunity to begin to supply the details which workers in Dravidian Philology would like to know.

2 I begin with a study of the Telugu Roots. I take up Telugu not only because it is my mother-tongue, but also because it is spoken by the greatest number among the Dravidian peoples and affinities with the Prakrits can be established with the least difficulty in that language. If Prakrit affinities could be satisfactorily established with the Telugu roots, it will become easy to establish the Prakritic nature of the other Dravidian languages also by simply finding out cognate forms in them.

3 Telugu roots, like Prakrit roots, and like the roots in any other modern Aryan languages, are generally classified under three heads — tatsama, tadbhava, and dēśya. There is not much difficulty

non-Sanskritic original where even the semblance of a Sanskrit affinity could be suggested. So, when he says a root is 'dêśya', it may be taken as beyond dispute that he could not trace it to a Sanskrit or Prâkrit original. I take, therefore, only such Telugu roots as he has indicated to be 'dêśyas' and proceed to investigate them.

6 Telugu roots may be classified for the sake of convenience, according to their endings, as under. The number, given by the side of each root, indicates the number of Telugu roots with that ending found in the above dictionary.

- ñiku చ (20), nku ం (10), ku క (62), kku క్క (34),
 ñigu గ (5), ngu గ (15), gu గ (58), ggu గ్గ (15),
 ñitsu చ (35), ñitsu ం (488), tsu చ (211), tstsु చ్చ (22),
 ñidzu జ (7), ñidzu ం (5), dzu జ (0), dzdzు జ్జ (2),
 ñitu, ట (9), ñitu ం (5), tu ట (11), ttu ట్ట (21),
 ñidu డ (9), ndu ం (11), du డ (34), ddu డ్డ (21), nu డ (1),
 ñitu డ (1), ntu ం (0), tu డ (1), ttu డ్డ (9),
 ñidu డ (8), ndu ం (12), du డ (3), ddu డ్డ (4), nu డ (17),
 nnu డ్డ (4),
 ñipu ప (8), mpu ప (11), pu ప (65), ppu ప్ప (12),
 ñibu బ (0), mbu ం (1), bu బ (0), bbu బ్బ (9), mu మ (32),
 mmu మ్మ (17),
 yu య (133), yyu య్య (11), ru ర (73), Ru ర (29), RRu ర్ (3),
 lu ల (119), llu ల్ల (118), l శ (1), llu శ్శ (8), vu వ (50), vvu వ్వు (11),
 su స (1)

The same arranged according to their descending order of frequency is —

- ñitsu ం (488), tsu చ (211), yu య (133), lu ల (119), llu ల్ల (118), ñigu గ (75), ru ర (73), pu ప (65), ku క (62), vu వ (50), ñitsu చ (35), kku క్క, du డ (34), mu మ (32), Ru ర (29), tstsु చ్చ (22),
 ttu ట్ట (21), ñiku చ (20), nu స, mmu మ్మ (17), ngu గ, ggu గ్గ, (15),
 ndu డ, ppu ప్ప (12), ndu ం, mpu ప, yyu య్య, vvu వ్వు (11),

(c) Softening of medial surds —atuku—aduku, etc

(d) Changes in medial consonants —

ka—ma potakarĩtsu—potamarĩtsu, etc ,
 ga—va igurĩtsu—ivurĩtsu, etc ,
 da—na puduku—punuku, etc ,
 da—ra mummadiĩtsu—mummariĩtsu, etc ,
 ta—ba galatarĩtsu—galabariĩtsu, etc ,
 da—na vedaku—venaku, etc ,
 na—ra tsinugu—tsirugu, etc ,
 na—la tsinuku—tsiluku, etc ,
 ba—ma gubuku—gumuku, etc ,
 bba—mma ibbadiĩtsu—immadiĩtsu, etc ,
 ra—la upparĩtsu—uppalĩtsu, etc ,
 Ra—ra eRagu—eragu, etc ,
 Ra—la giRuku—giluku, etc
 la—da—la velugu—bedaku—beluku, etc ,
 sa—ta pōsarĩtsu—pōtarĩtsu, etc ,
 la—ra rangalĩtsu—rangariĩtsu, etc

Final consonants —

(a) Changes —

ku—gu tolaku—tolagu, etc ,
 kka—gga mrakku—mraggu, etc ,
 ga—ya tselagu—tselayu, etc
 gu—vu esagu—esavu, etc ,
 tsanu—tsu kadatsanu—kadatsu, etc ,
 tsu—ĩtsu velārutsu—velārĩtsu, etc ,
 ĩtsu—llu tārasiĩtsu—tārasillu, etc ,
 ppa—vva oppu—ovvu, etc ,
 ra—la viduru—vidulu, etc ,
 vu—gu avu—agu, etc ,
 vva—mma ovvu—ommu, etc ,
 sa—da sarasu—saradu, etc

Loss of medial consonant and compensatory lengthening

tanuku—tāku

Nasalization pikku—pingu, etc

Partial denasalization and lengthening of previous vowel

Metathesis koĩgu—gōĩku, etc

Assimilation immadiĩtsu—immadiĩtsu maRalu—mallu

vedalu—vellu etc

(c) Prefix plus 'kri' —unku(ud)

(d) Consonant with nasalizing tendency plus 'kri' —dunku, donku(adhas)

(e) Skt root and passive suffix 'ya' and kri —dinku(dīya), bonku(brūya)

(f) Gutturalization of the ñch ending of a Skt root —konku, (kuñch or kruñch)

(3) ku

(a) Root and class suffix plus kri' —iRuku(ris), uduku(ush), uRuku(ruh), tsituku, tsiduku, tsivuku(chid), tanuku, danuku (tan or tap) tasuku(tush), vadaku(vart) vetaku, vedaku, venaku (vish), doraku(dhri), naduku(nat), naRaku(nas or nash) nūku (nud), paluku(brū or vod), pituku, piduku(vīdh, vēdh), pisuku(pish), puduku, punuku(put), besuku(bhras), bratuku, braduku(vīdh, vardh), minuku(miñj) etc

(b) Prefix and root plus 'kri' —utuku, uduku(uddhār), ubuku (utplu), oluku(utsthā), beluku, melaku(vilas), etc

(c) Prefix plus kri —aduku, atuku, aduku(adhi)

(d) Past passive participle plus 'kri' —kuluku(kus) tsinuku, tsiluku(chhanna) toduku(dhrita) toluku, tonuku, tonuku(dhūta)

(e) Denominative —lasuku(lāya)

(4) kku

(a) Prefix plus kri' —ukku(ud)

(b) Root plus 'kri' —ekku(ēdh), krukku(kruñch), tsekku (chaksh), tsokku(sukh) tikku(tij), tokku, trokku(tuj or tud), dakku(taj), nakku(nak) nokku(nud) pokku(plush), bokku(bhuksh), makku(mlā), mukku (mush), vikku (vij), srukku (sush), etc

(c) Denominative —vakku(bhras)

(5) gū

(a) Root and class suffix plus 'kri' —adagū, anagū, āgū(ad), alagū(alas), vīgū, igū(vīdh), eragū, eRagū(ēsh), esagū, esaru (ish), ēgū(i), karagū(ghri) kalagū(khs), kāgū, krāgū(kās), kāñgu, gōñku(krint), godañgu, gonañgu(gunj) tselagu(chal), tsāñgu(sādh), tunuñgu(trut), tūñgu(tul), toruñgu, toRañgu, todañgu(stri), peruñgu, pergu(vīdh), posañgu(push), madañgu, manañgu, maduñgu, madgu(mrid) masañgu(mask), sarañgu, suruñgu(sri) etc

(e) Prefix and root plus 'kri' —oragu, oRagu(udvart), visugn (vyas), vêgu(vilas) etc

(f) Prefix plus past passive participle —udugu(apa or upa-hata) nilugu, nilugu(nirvrita) etc

(g) Adverb plus 'kri' —vidugu, viRugu(prithak), etc

(8) ggu

(a) Root plus 'kri' —iggu(ig), gaggi(gad), daggu, daggu (dah), diggu, diggu (di), nuggu(nud), maggu, mraggu(mlâ), etc

(b) Prefix and root plus 'kri' —niggu, neggu(nirvah)

(9) utsu

(a) Roots ending in s, ś, sh, ch, ksh, etc —alantsu(alas), untsu(ujh), kalantsu(kalush), krântsuk(kars), nânts(nas), pûnts(prich), rênts(rih), lânts(lash), vrênts(vrasch) etc

(b) fourth class suffix or passive participle 'ya' with t, th, r, etc —ênts(êshy), tsânts(sâdhy), nônts(*nuty) melantsu(mil), vêtîsu(vyadhy)

(c) Root plus *ach- to be —adantsu, anantsu, ânts(ad), karantsu(ghri), dânts, dânts(dhâ), tânts(tad), tûnts(tul) madantsu, maduntsu, manuntsu, malañtsu(mrid), etc

(d) Root plus 'ishy' (isy) where 'i' is incremental and 'shy' or 'sy' is futural

(e) Prefix and root plus *ach —tônts(uday), etc

(f) Past passive participle plus 'y' —tolantsu(dhûta or dhavali ta), nalantsu (nata), etc

(g) Adjective plus 'ya' —lônts(tuccha), etc

(10) ñtsu

The nasalization is entirely peculiar to Telugu Kanarese equivalents of these roots end in 'su'

(a) Root plus 'ishy' —îsadiñtsu(îrshy), kuñtu(kruñch)

(b) Prefix plus root —añtsu(âññâ) etc etc

(c) Prefix and root plus 'ishy' —atstsaliñtsu(âcchal), âratîñtsu(ârat), unkiñtsu(ut kri), uttariñtsu(ut-kri or ut tri), uppatîñtsu(ut pat), uppariñtsu, uppaliñtsu(ut-plu) ûkiñtsu(ut sâh) ûstîñtsu(ut sthâ), etc

(14) ñdzu

(a) Nasalized root —guñdzu(kñish), etc

(b) Root —poñdzu(puñj), etc

(15) dzdzu

(a) Root plus 'ya' —radzdzu(ras), etc

(16) ñtu

(a) Prefix plus root —ñtu(ud-vart or ut-stha)

(b) Past passive participle —âtu(âtta, âpta), gitu(kshipta), dûtu(dhûta), dôtu(datta), poratu(prikta), etc

(c) Krêtu(cp krênkâra), dâtu(cp dhâtî), etc

(17) ntu

(a) Past passive participle of root with a nasal —anðu(ankta), kunðu(kuñchita, khanjita or kunthita), gantu(*ghnanta), etc

(18) tu

(a) Root —tsâtu(sât)

(b) Root plus 'at tegatu(trich and at)

(c) Past passive participle —kumuðu(kunthita), taRatu(tash-ta)dîtu(dhrishṭa), etc

(19) ṭtu

(a) Past Passive participle —uttu(udvartita), nettu(nirvrita), ottu(vartita), kottu(kutṭita), gittu(klishṭa, kṛishṭa, ghrishṭa), tattu(tâdita), patṭu(vartita, patita), peṭṭu(vṛita), mattu, mettu(mar-dita), kattu(kṛishṭa, karshita), kiṭṭu(karshita), kuttu(kṛishṭa, kutṭha, karshita), peṭṭu (prahata)

(b) Denominative —puṭtu(cp putra), mottu(mushtita)

(20) ñdu

Past passive participle —tsûñdu(*sushta), tēñdu(tishtita), toñdu(dhrishṭa), pēñdu(pṇaddha), mañdu(*mṣhta), lôñdu(lûta), etc

(21) ndu

(a) Past passive participle —undu(ushita or *ushta) tsundu(*sushta), pandu(phalita), mandu(mṣhta), vandu(*pakta), tsendu(khandita or echindita), tandu(dandita), pindu(pishta), etc

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle —parundu(paryushita)

(c) Aṅyaya plus past passive participle —chiñdu(sitkṛita or singhānita)

(29) ndu

(a) Root —kandu(krand), chindu(cehind), pondu(spand or pad)

(b) Prefix plus root —ondu(upapad), etc

(c) Past passive participle —kundu(*krusita), kondu(*kṛitta) . mrandu(mrakshita or *mrasta)

(30) ddu

Past passive participle —addu(ardita or ārdṛita), biddu(*bhidd) . diddu(dhṛita), ruddu(ruddha), etc

(31) nu

(a) Roots ending in n, n or l —anu(an, an), kanu(aksan) , tsanu(chal), tnu(trin), nānu(snā)

(b) Root plus class suffix nu or nā —konu(kṛinu), dunu(dhunu) etc

(c) Denominative ānu(ādhāna), inu(ijana) pūnu(vahana); pēnu (vayana)

(32) nnu

(a) Root plus 5th class suffix —dunnu(dhunu)

(b) Past passive participle —pannu(panna, *pad or pat)

(c) Denominative —ennu(hēlana) tannu(tādāna), etc

(33) ñpu

(a) Root plus 'âp' which is wrongly considered to be the passive particle instead of the 'ya' the proper passive particle because it is generally found conjoined with it

tsâñpu(sādh), malañpu(mṛid), rēñpu(riḥ)

(b) Prefix plus root —âñpu(apahri) ûñpu(upahri) etc

(c) Noun plus 'âp' —tsēñpu(sīdhu) etc

(34) mpu

(a) Prefix plus root —mmpu(nirâp) pampu(prâp), etc

(b) Root plus âp —chimpu(cehidâp), tsampu, sampu(savâp) dimpu(dī, âp) tempu, trempu(trutâp), dampu(damśâp) pempu (vrīdh âp) etc

(c) Prefix and root plus âp —ampu(âjñâp), etc

(d) Denominative —nulumu(unmûlana), podamu(sphutam), etc

(40) mmu

(a) Root in m —krammu(kram), nammu(narm)

(b) Past passive participle —tummu(kshutam)

(c) Denominative —chimmu, jimmu(syandanam, sêchanam), pammu(pravartanam), prammu(parivêshanam), etc

(41) yu

(a) Roots in s, sh, s, ch, j, ksh —amayu(maksh), arayu(raksh laksh), alayu(alas), aviyu(vraśch), id(R)iyu(ris, rish), elayu(lash), êyu(ish), kala(1)yu(krish, karsh), kmiyu(klis or from khinna), kudiyu(kuts), kûyu(kûj), kedayu(klis, kûś), krikkiRiyu(kris kris), krôyu(kruñch), giyu(krish), têyu(tij, tish) d(d)ûyu(dush), dor(R)ayu(dris), pariya(prish, prish), pâyu(bhaj, pâms, apâs), por(R)ayu(prush), polayu(plush), pôyu(prôksh, prôsh), malayu(mlas), mur(R)iyu(mris), R(r)êyu(rih, rij), rôyu(rush, rus), lâyu(lash, las) vrêyu(vraśch), solayu(su-alas), etc

(b) Prefix plus root —arayu(âlaksh, âraksh), uR(r)iyu(udrich) uliyu(udras), odiyu(avadhrish), olayu(ullas), neR(r)ayu(nirvis) bigiyu(vikrish, vikris), bediyu(vidris), bel(r)ayu(virach), meRayu(vilas), valayu(avalash), viriyu(virich), velayu(vilas)

(c) Prefix and root plus 'ya' —penayu(pi or apinahya)

(d) Root plus 'ish' —eg(v)ayu(êdh), kadiyu(skad), kamiyu(klam), kamiyu(kram or klam), kaviyu(kram), guniyu(kvan), tsadiyu, chidiyu(ochid), chenayu(svid), chelayu(chal), chelayu dzadiyu(chal, slath, srath, sabd), nôyu(nud), padayu(pad, pat), madiyu(mri), mudiyu(vridh), vali(yu(vyaris)

(e) Avyaya plus root —edayu(prithakkri)

(f) Avyaya plus root —solayu(su-alas)

(g) Prothetic 'y' —odiyu(uddi), mâyu(mlai, mlâ), midiyu, vidiyu(vidi), oliyu(ullâ), etc

(h) Root plus passive 'ya' —kôyu(kûty), krâyu(griyy), môyu, (vahy)

(i) Noun and root 'sya' futural —tadayu(tatasthâ), morayu, mrôyu(mukha ras)

(j) Past passive participle plus 'ishy' —vadiyu(udita)

(k) Denominative —tamiyu(trishnâ), puh(yu(pûti), mugiyu-monayu (mukha)

(45) R Ru

(a) Root —dzuRRu(jush), kuRRu(kûj)

(46) lu

(a) Past passive participle —*agalu*, *agulu*, *aulu*(khâta, ghâta), *adalu*, *adalu* (cp H dar), *isadilu*(sithilita), *echchirilu*(*vardhyita), *edalu*^(bhitta), *êlu*(êdhita), *oralu*, *Rôlu*(rudita), *kadalu*, *kudulu* (skhalita, skadita, skudita), *kanalu*, *kanârilu* (cp Skt kanala, shin-ing), *kamalu*, *kâlu*, *kumulu*, *kumârilu*(klamita), *kudikilu*(skudita), *kuppatilu*(gûrvita), *kummarilu*(kumphita), *kusulu*, *kûlu*(kuñchita), *keralu*(kûjita, krudhdha), *krâlu*(krânta), *krungilu* (kruñchita), *krôlu*(grihita, krishṭa), *chindilu*(cehindita), *chikilu*(chakita), *chitilu*, *chitlu*, *dilu*, *dîlu*, *sadalu*(sithila) *chîlu*^(chitta), *tsat*(d)ikilu(*sadita*), *tsâlu*(sâdhita), *tagulu*, *tavulu*, *taulu*(sthaḡita), *tar*(R)alu, *tarlu*, *ter*(R)alu(*tarita*), *tûlu*(dhûta), *todikilu*(trutkrita), *totrilu*(tôtrita), *dongilu*(taskarita), *nogulu*(nud krita), *pagulu*(bhakta), *pigulu*, *pîlu* *pekalu* *pegalu*, *pêlu*(*bhikta, or bhid krita), *podalu*(vardhita), *poralu*, *porlu*(pravartita), *pogulu*, *povulu*(plush krita), *prêlu*(*brûta), *badalu*, *vadalu*, *vadalu*, *vadulu*, *vidalu*(bâdhita), *mâlu*, *mrâlu* (mlâta), *mungilu*(mukharita), *mu*(mru)chchilu (mushita), *ragulu*(rañjita), *Rôlu*(râsita), *vaRalu*(vartita), *vasulu*(apasarita), *vâlu*, *vrâlu* (avapâta), *vilu*(vihita), *vidulu*, *vedalu*, *velalu*(vikrita), *velikilu* (bahishkita), *vêlu*, *vrêlu*(vidhrita, vivrita), *sôlu*(sramita)

(b) Prefix plus past passive participle —*âgubbatilu*(âgûrvita)

(47) llu

(a) Past passive participle —*allu*(valhita), *udikillu*(ushnikrita), *egasillu*(êshkita), *kantagillu*(kantkrita), *kattarillu*, *tattarillu*(tvarita), *krammarillu*(kramishita), *gilu*(kshata, kshipta), *gûnugillu*(khunjita, kuñchita), *chippillu*(kshipta), *chemmagillu*(tim krita), *tsallu*, *chellu*(taladillu, châhita), *tsâgillu*(sâdh krita), *tsoppillu*, *dzobbillu* (kshubhita), *ṭhavanillu*(sthânita), *dullu*, *dollu*(sithilita), *târasillu* (dharshita), *tuppatillu*(tarpita), *totrillu*(trutita) *têlagillu*(dhrita krita, tarita krita), *dandasillu*(dandita), *daddaRillu*, *daddirilu*(trasta), *durapillu*(*dûshâpita), *dusikillu*(dushkrita), *dûpillu*, *dûpatillu* (trishâpita), *nitrillu*(nishṭhita), *pikkatillu*(prithakkrita, vardhita), *chippillu*(cehidâpita), *pellagillu*(prithakkrita), *bandigillu*(bandikrita) *bânagillu*(balâtkrita), *bit agillu*(prithakkrita), *bendagillu* (^bhind krita), *beggillu*, *beggadillu*(bharjita) *bollu*(*brûta), *bôragillu* (cp H bôltâ), *mandatillu*(mandita), *mampillu*(madâpita),

prominent in Sindhi and some other modern Aryan languages. The course and development of Telugu, as, in fact, of any language whatsoever, is very composite and complex, and requires great patience and perseverance to unravel all the ramifications of the various Prakritic elements that have contributed to the structure of the language. Some attempt had been made by Telugu grammarians to indicate the Prakritic origin of a few words in Telugu. Their investigation was limited only to the affinities of these words among the six main Prakrits generally dealt with in Prakrit grammars which were written at a time when all touch with the living Prakrits was lost. Even now our sources for the study of the Prakrits are mostly of the same character but we are in a better position now because the principles of modern philology will help us a great deal in proceeding much further than the ancient grammarians could have gone.

10 The examples given above may not in all cases be correct, but they should be taken only as indications of the way in which to pursue the investigation in the matter. It is in the very nature of things impossible to find the exact Prakrit equivalents of Telugu basic forms because Telugu is a living language and embraces all the aspects of human life, while such extant Prakrit literature as we possess is concerned mostly with a particular phase of it. Much of the vocabulary, therefore, of the Prakrits is hidden from us and it may be suggested that the original living Prakrit words and forms still parade before us in a much disguised form. It would be the task of modern philology to find them out. It will not do to turn our faces from this problem but a serious attempt has to be made to see if it is possible to bring the Dravidian languages in line with the other modern Aryan languages of India. There will be time enough to resort to extra-Indian affinities if this hypothesis falls to the ground. My purpose in presenting this paper before the scholars assembled here is certainly not to claim finality to my views, but only to draw pointed attention to a point of view which has either been completely neglected or treated with scant courtesy since the time of Caldwell. The humble effort made in this paper will have been amply rewarded if others also take up the problem and work in the same direction, so that it will become possible to exchange views, which is, after all, the purpose of this Conference.

THE WHISPERED VOWELS IN INDO-ARYAN

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1 The single final vowels of Sanskrit and Prakrits have left no trace in Modern Indo-Aryan except in Kāśmīrī, Sindhī, Maithilī, Awadhī, and Singhalese¹ where they are found as very short vowels indicated in transcription by being written above the line, e g

Skt *aḷṣi*, Pkt *allhī*, Pj *allh* H Gj M Bg *ālh* Sgh *āsa*, while K *ach'*, S *alh'*, Mth Aw *ālh'*, Skt *rātrī*, Pkt *rattī*, H Gj M Bg Np *rāl*, Gy *rat*, Sgh *ra* while K *rāth'*, S Mth Aw *rāl'*, Skt *phalam*, Ap *phalu*, H *phal*, Gj M *phal* while S Aw Mth *phar'*, Skt *dugdham*, Ap *duddhu*, Pj *duddh*, H Gj M *dūdh* while S *dudh'*, Aw Mth *dūdh'*, Sgh *dud'*

2 It appears that as is the case in Modern Indo-Aryan, in anterior stages also of Indo-Aryan final vowels were shorter in quantity than the corresponding vowels in initial and medial positions. They would thus have a little different development from that of vowels in other positions and would gradually disappear. Thus *i* would become *-i*, *-i*, *i* and then disappear, *ō* becomes *-o* or *-u*, then *-u*, *u* and zero. Final *-u* is found in the inscriptions and texts of Marāṭhī up to the 16th century². Similarly they are found in the old records of other languages³. It is certain, therefore, that the languages which preserve them are more conservative in this respect than the others. Even in the same language some dialects (e g the Western dialects of Awadhī) may preserve them longer than the others (e g the Eastern dialects of Awadhī). This particular feature, therefore, cannot be taken as a factor in determining the grouping of languages.

1 Vide Bloch *Langue Marathe*, p 54 (who quotes Geiger for Singhalese), Chatterji *Origin and Development of Bengali*, p 150 (who quotes Grierson for Kāśmīrī, Maithilī, and Sindhī), and Baburam Saksena *J A S B*, 1922, p 305, for Awadhī.

2 Vide Bloch *Langue Marathe* p 54, where he cites *sāratu sāmāntah* from a text of the 16th century.

3 Vide Chatterji, *ibid*, p 150 'Five hundred years ago final vowels were pronounced in Bengali'.

resonance chamber assumes the various positions for pronouncing the full sounds of normal speech but as the passage of breath is restricted and the vocal cords are not functioning, full sounds are not heard. Still as the resonance chamber is making the same efforts and as some air is passing through, sounds are heard and distinguished in whisper.

A regular vowel has two characteristics, viz (1) in pronouncing it a free passage is left in the buccal cavity for the passing out of air, and (2) the vocal cords are in vibration. In the case of a whispered vowel, however, the second characteristic is absent. For the speech in whisper it does serve the whole function of a vowel.

5 As stated above (sec 3) in Awadhī 1, u, e, and ə come after consonants. The resonance chamber does not make any difference in position for pronouncing ə and exploding a consonant. The tongue is in a lax central position in both the cases. The acoustic effect also is the same. Hence it is not possible to say definitely whether ə exists in Awadhī. As shown above, the apparatus is not a help. The inscriptions which were taken, sometimes show two or three vowel waves and sometimes nothing. I should, therefore, say that there are only three whispered vowels in Awadhī 1, e, and u. These in Awadhī occur at the end of a word and do not make a syllable, unlike Japanese¹ where they occur medially and do make a syllable. They are found after consonants only and never after a vowel. They have a stronger individuality after a voiced consonant than after a breathed one. A whispered vowel gives place to an ordinary full vowel when it is followed by a voiced consonant of a place of articulation different from that of the consonant which precedes it, e.g. *marṛ gā* becomes *marī gā*, and when the elision of a medial vowel makes the consonant preceding the whispered vowel a conjunct one, e.g. *mārṛṭ* becomes *mārtī*.

6 The ephemeral existence of the whispered vowel is further marked by the modifications it undergoes in *sandhi* position. When it stands between two consonants having the same place of articulation, it is elided. e.g.

bhāṛi gauā > *bhāggawā*, *sāṅṅ khārsi* > *sākkhārsi*, *ḥhatiya ke kirawā* > *ḥhatiyakkirawā*, *tini dāi* > *tindāi*, *bhātu nāi hai* > *bhānnāi hai*, *kāhe se sānī* > *kāhe ssānī*

¹ Vide Edwardes *Phonétique Japanese*, § 25

A PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION FROM TODA

PROF SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,
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§1 Toda is an interesting Dravidian language belonging to the Southern group of Dravidian. It is fast approaching extinction, only so few as 663 persons in and around Ootacamund having returned this language as their mother tongue in the Census of 1921. The Toda people (with the exception of the very small children and babies) are all bilingual or polyglot, speaking in addition Badaga and Tamil, and their number is decreasing. There has been a little study of their language (e.g. by G. U. Pope in a brief outline of grammar in W. E. Marshall's 'A Phrenologist among the Todas', London, 1873, and by Dr W. H. R. Rivers in his well-known work on the Todas, London, 1906, and Diwan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's very interesting article on the Tamil affinities of Toda and on Toda migrations appeared in the *Madras New India* for June 9 and 12, 1925—to which my attention was kindly drawn by Dr I. J. S. Taraporewala). Unfortunately this interesting little speech, preserving, it seems, some very old forms, and claimed to be very closely related to both Kannada and Tamil, has not been dealt with in the LSI, which quotes only G. U. Pope's views on the language published in 1873 and quoted by Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*. No Toda text is given in that work.

§2 Last year (Autumn of 1929) in the course of a little tour in Southern India I visited Ootacamund and stayed there for a few days, and with the help of some local friends I was enabled to take down in phonetic transcription a few short texts in Toda. The *Story of the North Wind and the Sun* was translated into Toda with the help of some Todas by Mr. Premananda Sath. Bharathi, a Tamil gentleman working as a Hindu missionary among the Todas, and the story as well as a short conversation (also done into Toda by the same gentleman with the help of his Toda friends) was repeated to me by a Toda man, after whose pronunciation I took down the transcription. I worked without any theory or any notions of orthography for the language, as I had never before read any Toda

ing and *taking away* sounded at first like [krstetɪceɟɪ], and then again like [krettetɪceɟɪ] and the Toda speaker assented to my [kɛrscɛɲ] [kɛrɕɛɲ] and [krɛɲ] as well as [krɛɲ] being each correct—I have consequently tentatively put it down as [krɛ ɲɛ]. Similarly a place name which is written usually as *Kellermand* I was inclined to take down at first as [kɛʃkærmøddɹ], but probably it is [kɪɛkɛ rmøttɪ], as I have taken down. It seems this unvoiced [ɛ] occurs in initial syllables with a [k] sound, and with the [k] there is in addition an unvoiced [r] sound. What I have put down as [ɛrɕtɛɪ] *said* has been given the Gramophone Record Text in Romanisation as *edsh*, probably it is [ɛrtɛɪ]. It may be that it is originally an unvoiced vocalic [r]. But I confess this has been a puzzle which I have not been able to solve and the only excuse I have is that my subject could not be questioned more closely, and he was too pliant to insist upon a correct rendering of his sounds by myself. At times the [ɛ] appeared to me to be rather close and I had to hesitate whether to write [ɛ] or [e].

As regards consonants final [kh] occurred at times to be interchanged with the velar spirants [ɣ, ɟ] thus [kudpokh] = *while disputing* was also pronounced as [kudpoɣ^u] and as [kudpoɟ^u]. Possibly the actual sound is an affricate—[kx], which can be voiced intervocally. The word [odigəvɪtɛɪ] = *stopped* was also given as [ɔdɪvɪtɛɪ].

The sound of [θ] is similarly probably an affricate [tθ], both interdental, resulting from a strongly aspirated [th].

Intervocal [l] in quick speech may become [d], intervocal or final [d] remains [d], does not alter to [r] as in other Indian languages, and [ttr] can be clearly made out only intervocally else it becomes almost indistinguishable from [tt] ([ttr] is the long affricate sound of an alveolar [t] + a spirant [r], which is found in Tamil, and occurs also in English as in *trial*, *tribe*, etc.)

[c] and [ɟ] are found, the [c] often was mistaken for [tʃ] [ɟ] and [dʒ] seem to be interchangeable.

[j] is rarely an on glide we have [erɪ] *buffalo*, not [jerɪ], but I heard [jettuda led] *who is great*.

A palatal vowel slightly palatalises following [rs] and [ʃ] [pɪrsum] is rather like [pɪr_sɪũ̃], and the [ʃ] in [kudvɪpɪmɛ̃] is almost like the *ich* laute of German. [rs] can become voiced to [rʀ], and it would seem the [s] in the language is rather like [ɕ].

7 ni in (en) thettrɯɲi[?]—emmen arski thettrɯɲi, parɕ
 You what eat? We rice we-eat, milk

 moɟ utpəmi pʷəθ muttəi mi n t'innəmi, thettr təgəɟə
 butter-milk drink meat eggs fish don't eat eat can't

8 ə l kedəɬəɬi ɟəgəsci[?]— ɛrɯ pətɛɬ, kɪ p
 Man if-dead what do? Buffalo seize, catch

 vurɟəmi, kɟattr kudɯɟəmi t(h)ittuk(ə)
 and-we-pull-down (=kill) dead-body we-kill into the-fire

 ɛttəvurɟəmi, kudikkədəmi (kudikkə ɾəmi)

 burn, in-the grave we-don't-put

 Mar(ə)ʋ(ə)nəl

 On the srāddha-day (after 3 months)

 kədk

 ɛrɯ

 the funeral ceremony buffalo

 paccəpəmi

 we catch

A PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION FROM MEWĀRĪ OF UDAIPUR

PROF SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI,
Calcutta University

In October 1930 while on a trip to Udaipur I was enabled through the courtesy of my host Mr Harnath Sinh Mehta to obtain a phonetic transcription from Mewārī. The text is a translation of the *Story of the North Wind and the Sun*, and the translation was made in consultation with some of the employees of Mr Mehta who are literate but not too much at home in Hindī. Hindī as the literary language is profoundly modifying the dialects of Rājasthān, and the younger generation (at least among the upper classes) are not always sure of their hold on the dialect. The dialect is the usual Mārwarī or Eastern form of Rājasthani.

The vowel system is simple enough, and does not call for much observation: only we have [æ] for final [e], and [ɛ] for earlier [a]. The use of the glottal stop [ʔ] for the pan-Indian [ɦ], and the shifting of the interior glottal stop from [ɦ] as well as of the glottal stop accompaniment of the interior voiced implosives [g' ɟ' d' d' b'] which are the substitutes in this dialect for the voiced aspirates, to the head of the word, are noteworthy features. This sort of treatment of the aspirates in NIA has been discussed by me in a separate paper *The Recusives in Indo Aryan* in the 'Bulletin of the Linguistic Society of India', Lahore, 1931.

[ɕ] and [ɟ] are the usual palatal affricates. Other remarkable things are the use of [ɦ] for initial [s], the slightly palatalised pronunciation of [s] as [s_j], and the alteration of interior [l] to [r], as in [calva]. The stress seems to be as in Hindustānī.

utri vajro o r fiuraɟ (fiuruɟ) ani va t par ɟ'agar r'aja ʔa ,
ke apā doja mēsū kun ɟorvan ʔɛ , atraimā e k garam paccʃheəro
ʔorjo thako e k gela tru a j nikljo ana doja mā ɟe tɛ ʔui , ke ɟo
p'eh vāni gela truro paccʃheəro uta rvaɪ legjo, v'oɪ vatto ɟorvan
fiamɟjo ɟaveɟa to vajro ɟorsū ɕarva (ɕalva) lago ɟjō ɟjō
vajro ɟorsū ɕarva lago, tjo tjo vāni gela tro paccʃheəranə
kaṭho lape tto gaɟo a khirmā vajro apāni koɟis, ɕho r didi
ɟadi fiuruɟ te ɟisū nikljo, to ɟ'atsū v'āni (vāni) gela tru paccʃheəro
uta r l'ido vāni va tsū vajranə mā nno parjo ke doja mā fiuruɟro
ɕfo r vatto ʔɛ

THE DIALECTS OF THE KHAŚĀLĪ GROUP

(Summary)

DR SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

The dialects of the Khaśāli group, discovered by the present writer in the summer of 1930, are spoken in a valley near the Chenab in the Udhampur District of Jammu Province, and about 20 to 30 miles from Bhadarwah. Hitherto it has been supposed that 'Bhadarwāhī or Kashmīrī' is the dialect of this valley, which I may call the Raggi valley, although it is officially known as Marmat-Galbān and Rudhār

Five main dialects and two sub dialects are spoken in this valley

(1) Khaśāli, (2) Rudhārī (including High Rudhārī, Low Rudhārī, and Nālā Rudhārī, (3) Marmatī, (4) Sundhlāsī, (5) Seutī

The number of speakers is more than two thousand, about 1,500 being the speakers of Khaśāli

Phonetically, Rudhārī preserves a vocalic system anterior to that of Bhadarwāhī. The dialects of the Khaś group have no mixed vowels as Bhadarwāhī has, but each dialect seems to preserve the relics of an independent Vowel-system. The most interesting of these is Seutī, which has a striking tendency for the contraction and *Schwundstufe* of vowels. Thus the Seutī phrase for 'the nurses came' is *ḍī ī*, while for the singular 'the nurse came', it has, like many other dialects, *ḍāi āi*.

Grammatically, the Dative case postposition in these dialects is *nī*, while in Bhadarwāhī it is *jo*. The dialects have a particular case which may be called the 'Prepositional Dative', which affects the 'aspects of the verb' and its use is thus somewhat parallel to the Slavonic Verb.

All these dialects, except Rudhārī, have the neuter gender, though in varied degree. There is a distinction of gender even in Personal Pronouns.

Rudhārī, in some respects, is the most complicated of these dialects, for it is a caste-language, and men living in the same street have sometimes different grammatical forms. Rudhārī has entirely discarded the plural number in the oblique cases of nouns.

SOME PECULIARITIES OF SORATHI DIALECT

D R MANKAD

I

Gujarāṭī language is spoken to day in many distinct dialects,¹ out of which the provincial dialect spoken by the people occupying the province called Sorath is, for many reasons, greatly interesting to a philologist. The pure Sorathī dialectal variations, which may be noticed to day, are mostly to be found in the spoken language of Kāthīs, Āhers or Āyars, Chāranas, Mers, and other tribes. There is also a considerably extensive literature expressed in this mixed dialect and preserved as folk-lore, which is lately being published by Mr J K Meghani.² That these people have, often, preserved forms and words almost in their Prākṛit and Apabhraṃsa stage, can be ascertained even by a cursory knowledge of the dialect. A detailed study of this dialect shows that it is considerably influenced by Sindhī, Kachhī, Mārawādī, and slightly by Hindī.³

¹ See specimens given by Sir George Grierson in *LSI*, Vol IX, Part II

² Specially his *Rasadhārās*, *Bahāravatiās*, *Radhiāli Rāt*, and *Rtugito* which last presents some very interesting philological (chiefly phonetic) variations

³ Duhās like —

पाणी मीडे पाक

मेल माडुजे मनमे

तु तो जी नीयार

तु केडे पाणीथी नीपच्चो (Kāthiāwādī Duhā by Raichura,
p 57)

and

उत्तर शेडयु कट्टियु

डुंगर डमरिया

हेडो तलफे मच्छ जी

साजण सभरिया (Sorathī B, 1, appendix)

may be taken as complete remnants of Kachhī dialect, though the instrumental थी in the first duho is purely Gujarāṭī. But, even otherwise many terminations directly imported from Kachhī (which is nothing else but a dialect of Sindhī) are found interspersed all throughout the literature. Gen जी, change of neuter into masculine gender, etc., are some instances in point. Mārawādī influence is more marked in marriage songs, which forms a special collection in Meghani's

Kanthas (Panini II, 4, 20) or Krathas (*Mahābhārata* VIII, 85, 16) To take it as Kshatriyas as has been done by Dr McCrindle and in Camb H I (Vol I) is not very satisfactory For the word Kshatriya does not refer to any particular nation or tribe, but is the common name for all the warrior tribes or castes'

But in his discussion about the Kathaioi, McCrindle regarded them as givers of the names⁹ 'Kathis, Kathi, Kathias, Katris, Khatri, Khetars, Kettaour, Kattais, Kattaks, and others One of these tribes, the Kathis, issuing from the lower parts of the Punjab, established themselves in Saurashtra and gave the name of Kathiawad to the great peninsula of Gujarat'¹⁰

The above discussion brings out two possible alternatives for the origin of the Kāthis —Kathaioi, if we believe in McCrindle and Kanthas or Krathas according to Dr S Majumdar Shastri Their origin from the Kanthas would seem to be borne out by the still existing name Kanthāl, given to the shore of the Ran of Cutch¹¹ Ptolemy also knew a gulf named Kanthi and McCrindle identified¹² it with the present 'Gulf of Kachh' But for the very reason that the shore was known as Kauthi to Ptolemy, the name Kanthāl or Kanthi was not given by the Kāthis, thus leaving us nowhere

But there is still another line of argument, which probably leads us nearer the origin of the Kāthis McCrindle in the long list of the tribes whose names he believed to have been derived from or akin to Kathaioi, enumerates Kattaks If there be any connection between Kathaioi, Kattaks, and our Kāthis, the matter, I think, can still be pushed earlier In the Vedic times there was a Kāthaka Sākhā, which gives us a Samhitā and an Upanisad, and it seems to be probable, at least philologically, that our Kāthis were perhaps connected with these Kathas That the Kathas occupied the Punjab once, according to Macdonell lends further support to the identification, as Kāthis also are said to have migrated from almost the same districts

But for our purpose of philological investigations, it is quite sufficient that the Kāthis came into Kāthiāwād, from Sind *via* Cutch

⁹ *Ibid*, p 158

¹⁰ McCrindle has blundered here It is Kāthiāwād that is Peninsula and not Gujarāt

¹¹ It is, however, possible that the word Kanthāl is to be derived from Kantha or Kānthā=shore

¹² *Ibid*, p 158

The influence of Sindhi and Cutchi that we shall find in the investigation of this dialect will thus be historically explained

II

UTSARGAS

(1) Remote Demonstrative Pronoun *इ*

Sorathi dialect is conspicuous by the total absence of both the remote demonstrative pronouns *ए* and *ते*, which are so widely used everywhere else in Gujarāṭi language. In their place the use of *इ* in the Nominative as well as in the oblique cases is seen throughout Sorathi literature.²¹ This extensive use of the pronoun has, it seems, influenced other pronouns also. *के* and *जे* of Gujarāṭi proper are often used in Sorathi as *की* and *जी*, but mostly in oblique cases only. Sir George Grierson shows²² the use of *इ* in Zālāvādī and Pattanī dialects. But in both these cases it appears in oblique cases. Thus this *इ* happens to be a peculiarity of Sorathi.

Beams has given a list of the two demonstrative pronouns in different languages that he has examined.²³ He gives for Sindhi, remote Demon Pr *इ*, *ही* and *हे*, but Dr Trumpp believes²⁴ them to be *ही*, *हे* and *हि* which result into *इ*, *ए* and *इ* respectively in Ladi dialect, by the elision of *ह*. This *इ* of the Ladi seems to be identical with Sorathi *इ*. This would be further justified by our previous ethnological discussions which have shown that all those tribes were, at one or the other time, residing in Sind.

But whence this *इ*?

Guj *ए* comes from *एतद्*. *एतद्* yields in Prākṛit *एचम्*. But *एतद्* also shows another form *इणम्* in Prākṛit. Prof N B Divatia has incidentally shown²⁵ that this *इणम्* may be derived either from

²¹ See

इ—Kāthīāwādī Duhā by Raichura, pp 39, 40, 92, 97, etc. Sorathi Bahāravatiā by Megham I, 10, 33, etc.

इणे—Sorathi B I, 91

इथी—Kāthī, D, p 18

इनो—*Ibid*, p 61

²² Linguistic Survey of India, Vol IX Part II, p 419

²³ Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, 1872-79,

by John Beams, II, 317 18

²⁴ Grammar of the Sindhi Language, by E Trumpp, Leipzig, 1872, p 198

²⁵ Gujarāṭi language and literature, Vol II, p 28

N B—I have noted, in the case of Sorathi, the optional plural औ endings, but they are heard in the speech of the educated only

Feminine

Sing	Plural (Guj Proper)	Plural (Sorathi)
गाय	गाय—यो	गाय—यो—यु
चोपडी ³³	चोपडी—औ	चोपडी—औ—उ
गगा	गगा—औ	गगा—औ—उ ³⁴

Neuter

Sing	Plural (Guj Proper)	Plural (Sorathi)
ढोकरा	ढोकरा—औ	ढोकरा—औ—उ
भाड	भाड—डो	भाड—डो—ड

Above illustrations will make it clear that whatever the gender and whatever the ending of a noun may be, in Sorathi it always takes in Nom pl, along with other terminations, उ and ड, masculine showing उ and the other two genders ड

In Prākṛit, Masculine nouns ending in इ and उ, and Feminine nouns ending in आ, इ, ए, उ and ऊ take in Nom pl along with other terminations अउ or उ³⁵ In Apabhramsa the same has been retained. Moreover, in Apabhramsa, for Neuter nouns there is an exception. Those nouns that had a क at the end, took उ in Nom and Acc Sing³⁶ It is a known fact that this addition of क was, once, a very extensive process

Modern Aryan languages also show this उ. For nouns ending in उ there is a universal ter उ. But in Sindhi, the use of this उ is very wide. In Feminine, Sindhi shows उ for आ, अ, इ and ए endings³⁷ As Sindhi has lost Neuter, it will be seen that Neuter Apabhramsa terminations have influenced other genders

³³ Beams does not recognise the existence of इ and ऊ endings for Guj Nouns (p 196 97) but long इ endings in Gujarātī are quite usual

³⁴ e.g. एवी पबीस गगाउ आवे तो य सारे ड?

³⁵ Intr to Prākṛit, by Woolnor, pp 31 ff

³⁶ See Purātattva, a Guj quarterly, Vol I, Pt Bechordas on Apabhramsa

³⁷ Beams, *Ibid*, II, 196 97. But Beams is not correct here. Nouns with ऊ and उ endings do not take any ter which is accepted for Sindhi by Dr Trumpp (see *Ibid*, p 106)

would pronounce *सामो* as *साद्धो*, while people on Unā side would have *झनु* for *उनु*. Thus the retention of *ह्* is optional. It has been already seen that Sorathī is very much allied to Kachhī, and Kachhīs are almost notorious for this elision of *ह्*. First person Singular *उ* which preserves the aspiration in all the modern Aryan languages of India, has dropped it in Kachhī and Sindhī *आउ*. But amongst Kachhīs the tendency for not aspirating is even more marked than amongst Sindhīs. Plurals like *तन्हीं*, *अन्हीं* are conspicuous by their absence in Kachhī, as in Ladhī. Again if you ask an average Kachhī to pronounce *कच्छु* he will express it as *कियु* or *किउ* even *क्यु*. It will be seen that *कच्छु* by the elision of *ह्* and by the process of *Pratisamprasāraṇa* will yield *किउ*. This tendency of avoiding aspiration is thus seen in Kachhī and Sorathī alike.

(4) *Past Passive Participle termination णु*

Gujarātī proper

Sorathī

वीलायु

वीलाणु

लखायु

लखाणु⁴⁰

The fact that these forms change according to the gender of the subject indicate their participial character.

Roots of all descriptions have this termination applied to them in Sorathī. In Sindhī also it is applied to some P P Ps⁴¹. But Dr. Trumpp simply calls them irregular, while Beams compares some of these with the corresponding irregular P P Ps in Sanskrit⁴². But even our Sanskrit grammarians, on account of the break in the Vedic traditions, have often explained forms, for which they could not account, as irregular⁴³. To day when the Vedic language itself is studied scientifically we must try to find out the causes of these apparent irregularities, in the Vedic language. Thus we find that in Vedic grammar along with *त* there was also a *न* as the termination of P P P. This *न* was applied to roots ending in long vowels, or in *च*, *इ* and *ऊ*⁴⁴. And keeping in view the fact that in Sindhī where it exhibits this termination, it is applied to

⁴⁰ For its actual use see Sorathī B 1, 20 Kāthī D, p 11, etc

⁴¹ Dr. Trumpp (*Ibid*) pp 272 ff

⁴² *Ibid*, III, p 139

⁴³ A similar case is seen in Prākṛit. Hemachandra, in his *Deśināmamālā*, has enumerated many words as *deśi* which can be and are being traced to Sanskrit, to day

⁴⁴ See Vedic Gr., pp 183 4

the short sounds from the same process suggested by Divatia thus

उपविशति — उवविसइ — उवइसइ

= वइसइ < वयसइ = वसे
दिसि = वैसे

So also

क पुन — कउण < कवण = काण
कुण = कीण

It should be noted that the above process has the advantage of बीजलाघव — But it may be objected that these transitional forms विसि and कुण, yielding short sound, are never used in literature. As a matter of fact they are seen⁴⁷ in some of the ancient Gujarātī works. In विसलप्रबन्ध the editor gives the following quotation in his preface —

“चौरद्वच फाल्या दिशि, एकलु चडि तत्र विसि तु धन पामि उतावलु ए विचार”⁴⁸
विसलप्रबन्ध itself shows the form विसि used at two places⁴⁹
कुण is actually used even now amongst Kāthīs and Āyars

It will, thus, be seen that the short sound for both these ए and ओ heard in Sorathi, is not a myth but an established fact which could be corroborated by strictly scientific philological investigations

(6) *इ following a consonant is not changed to लघुप्रत्यय यकार*

In Gujarātī proper in many places an इ following a consonant is often changed to a लघुप्रत्यय यकार as —

अक्खि = अक्खी = आख्य⁵⁰

Similarly the य in words like गय, रीत्य, जात्य, लाय, बोय etc is to be traced to an earlier इ. But in all these words Sorathīs, like Surathīs invariably use आख, गाड, रीन, जान, लाव etc, thus showing their tendency to drop the final य or strictly speaking to change the final इ to अ, for I do not believe that Sorathi ever had this लघुप्रत्यय य् which was afterwards dropped yielding an अ ending. This tendency of changing शिव to शव has exposed Gujarātīs to the ridicule of others⁵¹

⁴⁷ On the contrary the above transitional वयसइ is found nowhere

⁴⁸ See विसलप्रबन्ध Ed. by M. B. Vyās, Preface, p. 36

⁴⁹ See op. cit., pp. 37 and 38

⁵⁰ For other examples and full discussion see G. I. I. 1. 224 f

⁵¹ ep., तुलसी तलसी जाता मुकुन्दोपि मकन्दताम् । गुर्जराणां सुखं भट्ट शिवोपि शवता गत ॥

This *र* is derived by all from Prākṛit *रञ्ज*, but 'O' of Sindhī, noted by Trumpp has not been satisfactorily explained anywhere

It will be remembered that in Prākṛit there was for the absolutive *उञ्ज* along with *रञ्ज*⁵⁷ As *रञ्ज* by dropping the final *ञ* and by गुण yields *र*, so *उञ्ज* by the same process would yield Sindhī *ओ*, and by simply dropping *ञ*, would give Sorathi *उ* Gune suggests⁵⁸ to derive the above *रञ्ज* from Skr *य* or *त्य* and *उञ्ज* from Skr *त्वा*, which seems plausible

(8) Nom Plural *आ* ending

गोधा मास भखत	Kāthi, D, p 5
साया मागु इतरौ	„ p 50 (It is voc here)
इवा नामा	Sorathi, B 1, 91

The above examples show its existence This termination is also seen in Nom Pl, in Sindhī and Panjābī feminine nouns of *आ* ending⁵⁹ Sorathi uses it everywhere, irrespective of the gender of the noun It is a bit difficult to explain this *आ* Prākṛit and Apa had *आ*, for Nom Pl in Masc and Fem⁶⁰ But the anuswāra seen in Sorathi, Sindhī, and Panjābī is difficult to explain Some people have a tendency to nasalize the finals of some words This tendency may be said to be present here also though I am not quite sure of that

I would like to mention here a phenomenon, about the nature of which I am not clear Some verses like the following are met with —

- (1) ग्याम उगारी रण रंजे र रञ्जपूता रीत Kathi, D, p 3
- (2) चचळ अपचळ चमकवो अति आर घण रोप
 र तरगा पाच गुण पाचि तरैया दोप „ p 54
 also on p 55 तरैया दोप is used
- (3) गण माये गण करे इ ती वहेवारा वट „ p 67
 अवगण उपर गण करे एने सेज तळाया खट „
- (4) तेर त्रिया चड करलियो पचीर्यो कैकाण
 पचीस वरसे आरापरा पुरुषा एह प्रमाण „ p 85
- (5) शिर पडे धड लडे चूटे वखतरा कोर „ p 99

⁵⁷ Gune Op cit, p 249

⁵⁸ Ibid, p 250

⁵⁹ Beams Ibid, II, 196

⁶⁰ Gune Ibid, p 206

connected with Sindhi and Kachhi, should intensify the processes seen there

This inclination to intensify the inherited tendencies is probably due to careless and indifferent nature of the speakers. This indifference to accuracy has produced some remarkable forms, grammatically totally incorrect. There is a verse,

बातु रेये वीर भल तणी भाषण्यु—(Kāthi D p 75)

which shows an absurd phenomenon, for it is to be explained as a form of भाष with gen नी and nom pl उ, showing a confused and combined use of both these terminations. मेंधी seen in Sorathi B 1 27, is another example in point, though it only shows a double termination of the same case, due to pure confusion

III

CONCLUSION

These are some of the peculiarities of Sorathi language which are at once marked out. A wide range of investigation is still left to future workers. Sorathi phonology, which presents many interesting features, is altogether ignored here. Many other aspects also are left out of consideration. Yet let us recount implications of the present survey.

At the outset we had called this a half-developed dialect, which is fully borne out by our discussions. We have found that many peculiarities seen in Sorathi are to be traced to their ultimate Sindhi forms. Sindhi itself is in a process of evolution, for many of its present phonological, phonetic, and grammatical features manifest that it is still almost in Apabramsa stage. The same characteristic is evinced by Sorathi which is, as we have seen, a dialect of the tribes that have evidently migrated to Sorath from Sind and Cutch.

The tribes that speak Sorathi have preserved and intensified and even unified many features seen in Sindhi and Kachhi as exceptions, even though many centuries have elapsed since their separation from the original stock. One of the reasons of the above phenomenon is illiteracy and concomitant general indifference to accuracy, which are always marked in wandering and unsettled tribes. Moreover want of culture would, at transitional periods, keep such tribes in the same state, effects of transition being seen only in levelling up difficulties and avoiding intricacies and irregularities of exceptions and variations.

LINGUISTIC NOTES

SOME LINGUISTIC TECHNICAL TERMS, AND THEIR RENDERING INTO SANSKRIT (AND ARABIC)

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In setting about to write a text-book of Bengali grammar in Bengali, I was faced with a number of difficulties, one of which was the absence of suitable technical terms in Bengali (i.e. Sanskrit, for Bengali draws upon Sanskrit like most modern Indian languages for its learned words) for some linguistic phenomena which are of vital importance in the language but which unfortunately received no attention from grammarians of Bengali for the simple reason that these have not been studied by them. One has to find out suitable equivalents in Sanskrit, and failing to do so, one must coin them. Now, various kinds of vowel change have been noticed by the old grammarians, but some have escaped them, either because Sanskrit did not have them, or because the comparative method was absent to set them forth in their true light. *Vowel-Harmony*, *Epenthesis*, *Umlaut*, and *Ablaut* are the four terms for which Sanskrit equivalents were necessary in writing a Bengali grammar in Bengali. For *Vowel Harmony*, which I have sought to describe in detail in my ODBL (pp 395-402), I suggest *svara sangati* as a close enough translation. For *Epenthesis*, which means the anticipatory pronunciation of an *-i-* or *u-* vowel before its turn comes while pronouncing the whole word, and is not a mere intrusive vowel, a mere *āgama* (it is a change not found in Sanskrit but is characteristic of Avestan, and is found in many forms of NIA)—all that I could do was to go to the root of the word and build up an equivalent formation $epi + en + thesis = api + ni + hti$, $apinihti \approx$ 'putting inside and upon'. We have the use of *api* with roots in Skt, specially in Vedic *apihita* occurs in the sense of 'placed into', and *apimdhāna* is a technical term in the *Prātisākhya*s, meaning the unexploded pronunciation of stops at the end of words and before another stop.

Umlaut, like *Epenthesis*, is exceedingly characteristic of modern Bengali. There is nothing like *Umlaut* in Skt, although the Pkts show some umlauted forms. In the absence of a Skt equivalent,

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PALATAL SOUNDS IN SOME EASTERN SANSKRITIC VERNACULARS

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The original sounds of Sanskrit have undergone great changes in the Vernaculars of modern India and it is generally acknowledged that one of the chief factors responsible for these changes is the influence of non Sanskritic languages, in the environment of which Sanskrit or the Vernaculars derived from it came to be spoken in different times in the different provinces. It is commonly known, for example, that the Dravidian languages exercised a cerebralising influence upon many of the Sanskritic Vernaculars which came into its contact and consequently many Sanskrit sounds (such as, ण, ढ, न, ल, etc.) have been cerebralised in Marathi, Oriya, and other Vernaculars. In this short paper we shall try to show that like the cerebral influence, there must have been a palatal influence also at work in the modification of the Sanskrit sounds at least in some of the eastern Vernaculars like Bihari, Bengali, and Assamese. How far this contention is true can be judged from the evidences set forth below.

The most prominent fact that at once attracts the attention of even a casual observer is the complete palatalisation of the Sanskrit sibilants in modern Bengali pronunciation. The modern Bengali has made a hopeless mess of the three sibilants, the cerebral and the dental have alike been converted into the palatal, ण (s). How could such confusion become possible?

Looking into the history of this phonetic change, we find that at a certain stage in the development of the Prākṛtas, the cerebral sibilant, s (ॠ) and the palatal sibilant, s (ऌ) were merged into one identical dental, namely, s (ॡ). Under what dentalising influence the speakers of the Sanskritic languages acquired this curious habit might form another interesting subject for inquiry. From the evidence we get from Pali, we learn that this tendency was crystallised into a fixed law while the cerebral tendency was still in a

sibilant also, though at an earlier stage, if it is to be considered to be the mother of modern Bihari (c) Thirdly, what is still more astonishing to note is the fact that though modern Bengali almost faithfully represents the second sound shifting, i.e. the palatalisation of the sibilants, and it is in this respect more akin to Māgadhi than Bihari itself, we still have in old Bengali evidence of the dentalisation of the sibilants. In old Bengali works like *Sūnyapurāṇa*, and even in *Candidāsa*, we find the dental sibilant (च) taking the place of the palatal and the cerebral ones. This evidence cannot be lightly brushed aside by saying that such spellings were not perhaps correct phonetic representations of the real pronunciations. For, against such an objection the following important points may be urged — (α) that unlike modern Bengali spelling, old Bengali spelling, as revealed in the manuscripts, was very phonetical, (β) that if the 'च' was really pronounced as 'ज', words like जन्ति would not have been written like चन्ति by any learned author, for such spelling would then neither represent the sound nor the sacred Sanskrit origin, (γ) that if the pronunciation was not really like 'च', but like 'ज', the words यट, गवक, etc. could not give rise to words like जे (or जय), काव, etc. (δ) and finally that unless 'च' was really pronounced as a dental, words like आच्छादित, दच्छा would never be written like आत् मादित, इत् मा, as they have been in old Bengali works like *Rasa-kadamba*. There are sufficient grounds, therefore, for believing that even in Māgadhi or Eastern Vernaculars the sibilants were dentalised before palatalisation took place.

From these overwhelming evidences, we may reasonably conclude that there were two distinct periods of sound-shifting in Māgadhi. The first is represented by the wholesale dentalisation of the sibilants and this change was common to other Prākṛtas also. The second is represented by the palatalisation of the dentalised sibilants.

The first change was common to all Prākṛtas, while the second was confined to Māgadhi alone. This Māgadhi is to be conceived as the prototype of Bengali, as Bengali faithfully preserves the second change, while modern Bihari shows no trace of it.

As already stated, the first change also influenced Bengali, and when the second change came on, the dentalised sibilants were palatalised again. This perhaps explains the existence of double

different degrees But Bengali (and perhaps Assamese and Oriya also) has more readily succumbed to this palatal influence more than any other language This is proved by the fact that the Bengali alphabet had to coin a new letter altogether, namely 'য' to represent the original sound of 'य'

Even the sonant r (ऋ) was not free from this influence For while in Marathi, Guzerati, and Oriya r is pronounced like ru (ऋ), i.e. with a final labial vowel, Bengali and Assamese have changed it into ri, i.e. a sound ending with a palatal vowel And in many cases the sonant being pronounced as 'ri', has finally dropped the 'r' sound altogether and has thus become 'i' (इ) In this way the Sanskrit words, रुद्रि, रुपति, रुद्रि, रुद्रि, रुद्राण, etc. have given rise to the Bengali words सिद्रि, निपति, विद्रि, दिद्रि, क्रियाण, etc. It is to be noted, however, that in some cases (e.g. Sans — रुद्र = Beng बुद्र) r has changed to ৱ, even in Bengali, but that is probably due to the disturbance created by an assimilating labial neighbour That the palatal tendency was very strong in Bengali is proved by an instance like पृथिवी (which we have in Sūnya-purāṇa) where r is converted to 'i' in spite of the contiguous labial consonant, though in the Prākṛtas it is पृथ्वी—(vide Prā pra)

We may consider next the palatalisation of some compound consonants It will be noted that in these cases the presence of a palatal, semi-palatal, or a potential palatal sound in a compound acts as a sufficient stimulus for the palatalisation of the neighbouring sounds

In Sanskrit, only a genuine palatal is found to assimilate preceding dentals, e.g. tat + jātiḥ = tājātiḥ But in the Prākṛtas, beginning from Pāli downwards, even a potential semi-palatal like 'य' is found to palatalise a preceding dental, invariably as indicated by Vararuci (Prā pra, 3, 27-28) Thus tya = eca, dya = jja, thya = echa, dhya = jjha The Bengali words नाच, खाज, मित्र, साध, etc. are derived in this way through the palatalisation of Sanskrit sounds Corresponding palatal changes can be naturally found in other Vernaculars also, because these changes were common to all the Prakṛtas But unlike other languages, Bengali extends this palatal influence even beyond the dentals For even a sound like 'य' is subjected to this change when followed by 'य' Thus Sans वाद्य and यद्य give rise to Bengali বাজ and যজ respectively, and all Sanskrit words containing द्य are pronounced by Bengalees as জ or

In this respect Bengali behaves contrary to our expectations. For, though it has many words like *कार*, *कुरि*, *कोट*, *साकि*, which are born of the palatal influence, its tendency at the present day is to favour the guttural substitute 'कख' or 'ख' for 'क' and the Bengalees cling to this habit even in the pronunciation of Sanskrit words. This rather unexpected phenomenon can be explained by supposing that the cerebral sibilant developed a guttural tendency, perhaps before its palatalisation. This tendency continues even up to the present day in Eastern India, especially in Bihar where the pronunciation of the cerebral sibilant (च) is almost indistinguishable from क. Hindi words like *भाखा* (= Sans. भाषा) are derived from this source. That this tendency was as early as Pali is evident from words like *खणो* (= चण), *पक्को* (= पत्त) which are found to alternate with *क्को*, *पक्को*.

We purposely put off the consideration of the nasals—*ण* and *न*, for it requires special attention. In the case of the sibilants we have shown how the cerebral ('च') was first dentalised and then the dental was subsequently palatalised. It is natural to expect two similar sound-shiftings in the case of the nasals also. Though other Vernaculars seem to return unfavourable verdicts in this respect, Bengali, to a certain extent, seems to give an encouraging reply. For dentalisation of the cerebral nasal has taken place in Bengali to an enormous degree and it is not too much to say that except in some compounds with cerebrals, the cerebral pronunciation has been altogether lost. This is a striking fact, because *Prākṛita* grammar ordains just the opposite thing, namely, universal cerebralisation of all the dental nasals (except in *Pāṣāṇī*) and because even at the present day and in the neighbouring province of Bihar the cerebral pronunciation of the cerebral nasal is so strong as to sound to a foreigner almost like *दं* (*dā*). But the palatalisation of the dental is difficult to find out in modern Bengali. We have, however, in old Bengali a few instances of the palatal influence. In honorific verbal endings, we find the dental nasal 'न' (which originates from the Sanskrit plural ending) as being palatalised to *ञ* *गेल्लञ्*, *दइल्लञ्*, etc. are very often met with in many old works. It should be noted in passing that the palatalisation of the dental and the cerebral nasals is in evidence even in Pali, when such nasals are followed by the semi palatal semi vowel 'य'. Pali words like *आयो*, *धाञ्च*, *अञ्जो* *हिरञ्च*, *अरञ्च* bear testimony to this palatal change.

MUNDĀ AFFINITIES OF BENGALI

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I Phonology

As distinguished from Sanskrit, Bengali is characterized by a large number of diphthongs e g *ai, au, ae, ao, āi, āu, āe, āo, u, v, ui, ei, eu, ee, eo, [æe], [æo], oe, oo* This is also the characteristic of the Mundā languages

In Bengali any vowel can be nasalized This is also the case with Mundā

There is the Harmonic sequence of vowels in Bengali, though it is not always apparent in the current orthography, e g

- u 1 *churi* ছুরি 'Knife,' *tumi* তুমি 'you,'
but u ā > o ā *chorā* ছোরা 'dagger', *tomār* তোমার 'your,'
o ā *golā* গোলা 'ball,'
but o 1 > u 1 *guli* গুলি 'bullet,'
e 1 *dekhī* দেখি 'I see'
but e ā > [æ] ā *dekhā* [dækhā] দেখা 'to see,'
1 1 *likhi* লিখি 'I write,'
but 1 ā > e ā *lekha* লেখা 'writing to write'
u ā > u o *buro* বুড়ো 'old' (colloquial from *burā*),
1 ā > 1 e *mithe* মিঠে 'sweet' (colloquial from *mithā*),
u e > u 1 *dui* দুই 'two' (from Pkt *duve*)
etc, etc *tumi* তুমি 'you' (from Pkt *tumhe*)

Thus we find that in the Harmonic sequence either (1) the preceding vowel or (2) the following vowel is modified Dr Sunati Kumar Chatterji has already observed that 'in this respect there is remarkable agreement between Santali and Bengali' (*Calcutta Review*, 1923, p 470) Further on he says 'Harmonic sequence is found in the distant Kūr-kū and is present in all Kōl (Mundā) dialects' This is also found to a small extent in the Dravidian family But I quite agree with Sir G A Grierson in holding that in this respect the Dravidian has been influenced by the Mundā family (*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol IV p 287 ff)

obtain in Santali also the preference for words of two *morae*, made up of a long syllable, or of two short ones, or one very short ($=\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{3}{4}$ *mora*) and the other slightly long ($1\frac{1}{2}$ or $1\frac{1}{4}$ *mora*). Also, as in Bengali, a monosyllabic base word loses its length when a suffix is added to it, making it a word of two short syllables' (*Calcutta Review*, 1923, p. 472)

II Morphology

In genuine (*tadbhava* and *desī*) Bengali words, the adjective does not follow the Number, Gender, and Case of the noun, e.g.

<i>chota chele</i>	'a small boy'
<i>chota meye</i>	'a small girl,'
<i>chota gāch</i>	'a small tree'

Mundā agrees with Bengali in this respect. The agreement between the adjective and the noun in gender in literary Bengali is a Sanskritism.

Like Mundā, Bengali sometimes forms masculine and feminine genders from words of common gender by prefixing a word denoting a male or a female, e.g.

<i>betā chele</i>	'a boy' (lit. a male child),
<i>meye chele</i>	'a girl' (lit. a female child)

So deep-rooted is this tendency that even in words borrowed from Sanskrit or Persian, we find the same usage, e.g.

<i>purus mānus</i>	'a man,'
<i>meye mānus</i>	'a woman,'
<i>strī loh</i>	'a woman,'
<i>nar kabutar</i>	'a male pigeon,'
<i>mādī kabutar</i>	'a female pigeon'

This usage is quite different from that of the Dravidian family, where words denoting a male or a female come after the Common gender.

In Bengali case-endings are added directly to the base, and not to the oblique form. This is also the characteristic of Mundā, and is different from Dravidian, where the post positions are added to the oblique base. Some of the Case endings are also remarkably similar, e.g.

Similarly in Mundā the person of the subject is indicated by means of pronominal suffixes

Standard Bengali uses the suffix *l* with 3rd pers sing, Imperative mood In Middle Beng *-la* was the optional suffix with other moods and tenses and persons The suffix is also found dialectally Now in Santālī *-ok* is used to denote the passive voice it is also common in transitive verbs where it is optional as *san*, *sanāk* 'go' *hach hijul*, 'come' and so on Other Mundā languages have possibly similar usage Bengali *-la* with verbs is quite different from the pleonastic *-la* suffix of the Old Indo-Aryan, where it is infixed before the final vowel, e g *pacati*, *pacatali* '(he) cooks'

Bengali uses the particles *-tā*, *-ti* with nouns and numerals to define them, e g *ek tā* একটা, *eti* এটি, 'one, the one' *chele tā* ছেলেটা *chele ti* ছেনোট 'the boy', etc Mundā has similar particles for the same purpose e g Santālī *mit' tan*, *mit'-tach*, *mit'-tan* 'one, the one', *hapân-dā*, *hapân-tat* 'the boy' Mundārī *kora do*, 'the son' Bhumij *hon-tak* 'hon-te' 'the child,' Kūrkū *ba te*, 'the father,' Kharia *lun du* 'the son,' Juang *iti-de*, 'the belly'

In Bengali the adjective is sometimes denoted by the possessive case, e g *sonār kalam* সোনাল কলম 'a golden pen' (lit a pen of gold) We find the similar use in Mundā

III Syntax

The usual order of words in Bengali is (1) Vocative, (2) Genitive, (3) Nominative, (4) Accusative, (5) Verb This is also the case with Mundā

Like Mundā Bengali has no indirect narration Bengali sometimes introduces the narration with *baliyā* বলিয়া 'saying,' e g *se bhāla chele baliyā salale tākāke bhālabāse* সে ভাল ছেলে বলিয়া সকলে তাহাকে ভালবাসে। Mundā languages also use a word denoting 'seemg' in this way

Bengali is fond of using word jingles, e g *ali gali* অলি গলি 'nook and corner' *ābal tābal* incoherent speech, *āburā lhaburā* 'uneven,' *āse pāse* near about, *gol gāl* 'round,' *dhūm dhām* 'grandeur' *rakam salam*, 'manners,' *hai cai* 'hue and cry' In Old Bengali also such word jingles are found, e g *ālā jālā* 'trifling' *uñcala pāñcala* 'restless,' *elu bālū* 'zigzag' Similar word jingles are frequent in Santālī and other Mundā languages e g Santālī

Bengali	Mundā	Bengali	Mundā
kālā 'deaf'	(S)	rār 'widow, prostitute'	rāndi (M) (S) 'widow'
khaccara 'mule'	khacur (M) (S)	thongā 'a receipt acle made of leaves, etc'	tongā (M) 'qui ver,' tonge (S) 'to join end to end'
khūtī 'post'	khūtu (M) khuntī (S)	totlā 'stuttering'	totrā (M) (S)
larāi 'fight'	(M) larhai (S)		
mota 'bundle'	mota (M), mot, motra (S)		
motā 'stout'	(M) (S)		
nengā 'the left'	lengā (M) (S)		

This list of words can be enlarged. But we should mention one very important word. Bengali *luri* 'twenty' has been shown by J. Przyluski to be of Mundā origin. In fact common people in Bengal count by twenties. They will say *du luri sāt* দু কুড়ি সাত lit. two twenties and seven for *sāt callis* সাতকলি 'forty-seven'.

V Conclusion

The affinities that exist between Bengali and Mundā show a deeper influence than a mere borrowing. We find the Mundā languages on the western border of Bengal and far beyond. To the east there is Khasi, which is also related to Mundā, and towards farther east beyond the borders of India there are Mon, Khmer, Palaung, Semang, Sakai and Nicobarese belonging to the same Austric family as Mundā and Khasi. It is only natural to suppose that Bengal is linguistically a submerged area which was once an Austric speaking country. As in Burma and in the farther India, the Austric speaking people were supplanted or dominated by Tibeto-, Burman and Tai speaking peoples, so in Bengal and possibly in other places in Northern India, the Austric-speaking people were supplanted by the Aryan-speakers. But the Austric speakers of Bengal have left not only the traces of their speech habit in Bengali, but have also contributed some everyday words to its vocabulary. Before concluding I cannot but express the difficulty in a truly scientific treatment of the subject for want of accurate grammars and dictionaries of the different languages belonging to the Austric family. So I hope my article may be regarded more as suggestive than strictly scientific.

THE HOME OF THE ĀRYAS

PANDIT LACHMI DHAR KALLA, M A SHASTRI

Professor Delhi University, Delhi

1 The unity of accent of the hypothetical Indo-European mother-tongue with that of the Vedic language whose first speakers seem to have lived round the Himalayas and their footlands

2 The growth and development of the Vedic literature in India prior to the growth and development of an Aryan literature in outerlands inhabited by the Aryan speaking nations

3 Exuberance of names and grammatical forms in the Vedic language and literature as compared with those of the different Aryan languages and literature that flourished outside India all over the world

4 The archaic character of the Vedic language and literature of the Indo-Aryans who never lived in 'isolation amid strange people' in India. The conformity of the Vedic language with the standard Indo-European mother-tongue together with its continuous historical growth from its archaic form into the modern languages in the same geographical continuum as contrasted with the disruptive character of the Aryan languages in different lands outside India

5 Lack of traces of any foreign journey behind the Vedic language and literature

6 Common vocables in various languages of the 'Indo European' mother tongue, both in the east and the west denote objects that fit in best with the conditions of life of the ancient Āryas and their language, in the Himalayas and their footlands

7 Absence of any tradition or suggestion in the Veda which is supposed to be an immediate record of the admission of the Āryas into India, regarding their home in outer-lands

8 The home of the Āryas must be sought for in the neighbourhood of Asiatic Turkistan the land of bifurcation of the Aryan mother tongue into the Centum and the Satem groups, and that may on the support of other important evidences be located round the Himalayas and not round the table-land of Central Asia—the Himalayas (however a distant neighbour of the Asiatic Turkistan) being historically connected with it. In other words the Himalayas

APPENDIX¹.

The Section of Indian Philosophy

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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In an age of Aeroplanes, Radios, and Talkies when what even the most daring flights of human imagination could not have once as much as dimly conceived or envisaged has become a *fait accompli* familiar even to farmers and schoolboys, and when the energies of the scientists—ever seeking newer and more daring outlets—are directed towards achieving the journey to the Mars or the Moon, or releasing for the benefit of humanity the almost exhaustless energy believed to be locked up in the atom at such a time the diversion of any portion of the thought activity of the youths of the land into recondite and non-utilitarian themes such as Philosophy would appear as an almost unpardonable sin—particularly if the study were to be confined not to Philosophy as it is preached and cultivated by the man of to day, but to Philosophy as it is believed to have been formulated and pursued by a set of old-world thinkers such as the sages and system builders of Ancient India, who lived a score of centuries ago and in a world so utterly different from the present. As long, however, as the vaunted advances of Modern Science do not succeed in giving a quietus to the several sociological problems grounded upon inequality of wealth distribution—nay, are even ushering newer and more baffling problems of their own masquerading under the names of Socialism, Bolshevism, and what not, so long at any rate the urge for philosophising—for examining the foundations of human society and the postulates underlying the relations between man and man, and even for speculations as to the end of human existence and the goal of human aspirations cannot be entirely dispensed with—man being what he is, and likely in essentials to

¹ The manuscript reached us too late to be printed at the proper place —
Editor

far published I mean Sankara's Commentary on the Āitareya Āraṇyaka II, adhyāyas 1-3, and on Āit Āraṇ III¹

As another case in point I may refer to the current estimate about the Philosophy of the Mahābhārata, which, in the absence of a reliable edition of the text, has been the object of some very far-reaching divergence of opinion. Admitting therefore the supreme importance of a critical and textual study of the several works bearing on Indian Philosophy, one has nevertheless to bear in mind that the study of the Philosophy contained in a given text reaches much beyond the merely textual study of the same.

3 Then we have amongst us a class of students who are mere translators of philosophical texts. Ignoring the somewhat ungenerous equation Translator=Traitor, and putting the most flattering interpretation upon translation as a sort of a secondary creative work, wherein the translator first possesses his soul fully with the spirit of the original and then re-creates it in his own words for the benefit of a class of readers unable to follow the original in the language in which it may have been first created—we still have to point out that even the author of the original work cannot himself always prove a satisfactory interpreter of the Philosophy contained in his own work, which has always to be studied in relation to the time when, the circumstances under which, and the purpose for which it was produced. And here too the rule obtains that the standers by are *ipso facto* in a position to understand and appreciate the game far better than those actually engaged in playing it. Many of you, I presume, must have come across several passages in standard texts professing to be Histories of Philosophy where what is intended to be offered as the exposition of certain philosophical view-point turns out to be a mere wooden translation of late commentarial work, which exhibits such a hopeless jumble of the older and the newer view-points developed in the Dārsanic School as to make it of no special significance in understanding the original and exact purport of the author. To seek to clarify the position of Sankara by quoting words from Madhusūdanasarasvatī, who probably is dealing in his own way against an attack levelled by the follower

¹ See the Journal of BBRAS, New Series, Vol VI 1930, pp 241 ff. The Āitareya Upaniṣad, as is well known constitutes adhyāyas 4-7 of Āraṇyaka II

the Indian philosophical world with authors and systems corresponding—even in their chronological sequence (!)—to every one of the noted names, say, in Greek Philosophy from Thales to Plato, as has been in fact actually attempted ‘Nothing new under the Sun’ is a proposition that has to be qualified by the sister proposition ‘No two things in the world are exactly alike

5 The above dangers and drawbacks that hinder and not rarely lead astray the earnest student of Philosophy are well illustrated by the case of that well-known and well-threshed out Indian Philosophical Poem, the *Bhagavadgītā*. In spite of the recent attempt of Professor Schrader to establish a pre Sankara Kashmirian recension of the *Bhagavadgītā* on the basis of Abhinavagupta’s commentary on the same (which I do not think has been very successful), the textual problems connected with the Poem are not very formidable. If we ignore, as it deserves to be, the extravaganza of the *Suddhadharma-mandala* edition, Madras, 1917, of 26 *adhyāyas* and 745 stanzas, the text-tradition of the Poem is fairly unitary, and none of the *variae lectiones* offered by the MSS are really doctrinally crucial. But this deficiency is more than made good by the attempts from the days of Schlegel to Garbe to discover (or invent) an original nucleus of the Poem and separate that from its later additions. This has led to a riotous difference of views mostly inspired by subjective bias and rarely (with the possible exception of Garbe¹) dictated by an objective or philological text-criticism. So too, merely to enumerate the instances of divergent uses of technical terms in the *Gītā* can prove either too little or too much. The Poem will either have to be classed as an unsystematic philosophical anthology from which it must be absolutely futile to eke out any consistent system of metaphysics or ethics—such is frankly the view of not a few scholars—or else we must learn to put down the fluid technicalities of the Poem to the credit of the transitional or formative age of its composition when a deliberate synthesis of originally discordant schools of thought or practice was being hastily patched up to meet a specific emergency. The sober student of the *Gītā* has long perceived the need of discarding the vagueries of a stratificatory study of the Poem and has agreed to consider its 700 stanzas as a unified—if not unitary—philosophic

¹ I have examined Garbe’s objective proofs in my Third Basu Mallik Lecture, pp 91–100, Poona, 1929

to some pre-Buddhist age is bound to possess an altogether different value and emphasis than if it were to indisputably belong to the post-Buddhist age—and it is not only a question of just the interpretation of the individual poem, but our whole perspective of the social and cultural movement preceding and following this philosophical masterpiece will have to be considerably modified according to the relative chronological position that we choose to assign to the Poem. To deny this would be to argue that a Kant or a Socrates could just as well have preceded as followed a Hume or a Protagoras.

6. I accordingly intend to take advantage of the position to which I have been elected as President of this Section by earnestly pleading for a historical interpretation of Philosophy. Philosophy, no less than Poetry, is a criticism of Life and cannot be divorced from it. To say this of course is not to assert that the course of philosophical movement, as Hegel argued, must follow a pre-determined course of evolution obeying certain categories of thought. It, as has been universally admitted a certain 'dysmæ' discontent is the mother of Philosophy: its ultimate meaning must naturally depend upon just at what point that breach in the harmony of man's intellectual life occurs. It may be brought about by Politics as in Ancient Greece, by Religion as in Protestant Europe, or by Economics as in Modern Russia. It may be inspired and dominated by social inequality as in Buddhist India, by discoveries of Science as in the French Revolution and After, or by a fortuitous contact of different cultures as in Modern India. And no less varied than the origin of Philosophy can be the solution offered by it of the problem or problems which it was called upon to answer, and more important than even this, the *method* of its procedure. Because the metaphysical postulates of two systems of Philosophy belonging to different ages and countries happen to agree in certain essential points, it does not necessarily follow that the two must be identical in their interest and outlook. The monism of a Pythagoras, a Sankara, or a Spinoza may agree in its essential central doctrine, but what a world of difference in its detailed working out! Spinoza's attempt to apply mathematical method of solution to philosophical problems failed as it was destined to fail, because Philosophy must for ever refuse to be approached that way. The historical method is the only right method of approach here, and even where (as in the case of the Indian

Brahmasūtras, the Bhāṣyas of Sankara and others and in still later works down to the Pañcadasi and the Vedāntaparibhāṣā. The orthodox Indian way holds that these works contain the same identical solutions of the philosophical problems. The Schools may differ in their interpretations, but each School endeavours to show that its own theory is given consistently by all the recognised texts or 'Prasthānas'. Hence the orthodox writer does not mind importing the words of a later commentator into the original, and he is innocent of any theory as to the evolution of Philosophy. Truth being one, it ought to have been, according to him revealed in all its fulness each time the revelation was believed to have occurred. The historical treatment of Philosophy for which I plead only maintains that that 'revealed' truth an author belonging to a given age can see only from his own specific angle of vision, and so he would be led to emphasise such aspects of it as had attained special significance for him and his age. Such a view would lend a sort of a human interest to the study so that the philosophical concepts of Brahman, Māyā, Nirvāna, or Parināma would cease to appear to us any more as mere unreal abstractions—some algebraical symbols—unrelated to the living and burning problems of the day. Otherwise the study of Philosophy can be reduced to a mere getting by heart of certain Kūrīkās and certain longer or shorter lists of categories and properties, and to the training of oneself in the mental gymnastics of the *avacchedaśā* and the *avacchedaśā*.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE SIXTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, PATNA

** Receipts and Payments from 21st May, 1930 to 3rd September, 1933*

RECEIPTS

	Rs	A	P
Grants and Donations	11,546	0	0
Membership fees	1,468	2	0
Interest received	401	1	6
Miscellaneous	7	0	0
	<hr/>		
GRAND TOTAL	13,422	3	6
	<hr/>		

PAYMENTS

	Rs	A	P
Establishment	466	1	9
Postage	227	7	0
Stationery	114	14	9
Printing	7,886	14	6
Excursion	357	8	0
Meetings	118	10	3
Entertainment	2,478	2	3
Drama	506	6	0
Miscellaneous	847	15	3
	<hr/>		
Total	13,033	15	9
Balance in hand	388	3	9
	<hr/>		
GRAND TOTAL	13,422	3	6
	<hr/>		

D N SEN,
Hon Treasurer,

September 3rd, 1933

The Sixth All India Oriental Conference, Patna

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